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Georg Morgenstierne

IRANO-DARDICA

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¹ + Adhenda

² Nennsatz

³ Nennsatz + Adhenda

⁴ Nein (unveröffentlicht)

⁵ Übersetzung + Nachverteilung (Adhenda)

Danke Knut Kristiansen und Inge Ross wird eine vollständige Bibliographie (ab 1903) in der 2., rev. und erweit. Ausgabe der „Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages“ (Oslo 1973) erscheinen. Deshalb verzichten wir darauf, hier Ergänzungen zur Bibliographie der „Indo-Iranian Languages C. M.“ (Wienbaden 1964, 189-195) zu veröffentlichen.

PREFACE

My friend Professor Georges Redard has kindly proposed that I should publish a volume of Irano-Dardica, containing reprints of a number of previous articles, with the addition of a few new ones.

I have followed his suggestion because it seems possible that some papers, scattered about in various not everywhere easily accessible periodicals and festschrifts may still be of some interest.

For special reasons I have included also one or two from the NTS.

I have made no changes in the earlier articles, only offered a few additions, either in the form of notes within brackets, or as addenda.

I am grateful, not only to Professor Redard, but also to Dr. L. Reichert for his willingness to include this miscellany in the Series "Festschrift zur Iranistik" and to Mr. S. Sana for kindly shouldering the heavy burden of preparing the index.

G. M.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ON ORMURI

In the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal¹ and subsequently in the Linguistic Survey of India² Sir George Grierson has given an account of the dialect of Ormuri (*Ormuri*) spoken in Kaniguram in Waziristan. His description is based chiefly on Ghulam Muhammad Khan's *Qawaid-i-Bargisā*, which contains copious, but not exhaustive materials about this interesting Iranian language.

During my stay in the North West Frontier Province in 1929, while on a linguistic mission sent by the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, I thought it worth while to take the opportunity of collecting some supplementary information about Ormuri of Kaniguram. I also wanted to compare this dialect with the one spoken in the Logar valley south of Kabul, a description of which has been published by the Institute³.

My first informant was Syed Ayub Shah, a young student in the Islamiya College near Peshawar, who in April 1929, although being very busy with his examinations, kindly let me have a few hours of his time. To some extent his statements were corroborated by another student from Kaniguram.

In September I got permission from the military authorities to motor through the occupied parts of Waziristan (the possibility of a visit to Kaniguram was excluded), and stopping for one day in Razmak, worked with an Ormuri from Kaniguram. He stated that there were

1100 houses of Ormuris in that village¹, of which they occupied the upper and lower parts, while Mahsuds lived in the centre. According to him a few words were pronounced in slightly different ways in the two Ormur wards.

The pronunciation of my informants generally agreed. Some slight discrepancies in my material, especially as regards vowels, may be due to inaccurate notation, and not to actual difference of pronunciation. Some real differences did, however, seem to exist. E. g. the Razmak man frequently pronounced an open *y* (probably of a slightly "mixed" character), where my informant from Islamiya had a more narrow *ø* or *ä* (cf. s. vv. *dyä*, *maräy*, *ryä*, *syä*, *šyü*, *šä*, *käp*, *käw*). The latter often pronounced a vocalic *i* (*iu*), where the Razmak man had a semivocalic *y* (*iu*) (cf. s. vv. *gyöt*, *gyä*, *danäs* etc.). Note also Razmak *ywäs*, *ywäšä*, *ywäs*, *mwäsä*; Islamiya, on the one hand *ywäs*, *wäšä*, on the other hand *ywäs*, *mwäsä*. (Groups of consonants which were simplified in the pronunciation of the Razmak man (cf. s. vv. *ywä*, *mä*, *dis*, *tiš*), were in some cases retained by the Islamiya student. Regarding the use of different words by my two informants cf. s. vv. *äyät* (*šäšät*), *lulä* (*maräwät*), *wätk* (*mwätk*), *zäst*. For variant forms of some numerals cf. below.

The necessarily scanty materials which I had the opportunity of collecting, may yet add something to our knowledge of Ormuri.

In the first instance the vocabulary given below includes a certain number of genuine Ormuri words not hitherto recorded. I mention here only *t*-*'to sit'* < **t-hidä* (not known in Ir.); *wšä* *'entrails'* cf. Skr. *dhra-*, *mäsaryä* *'brain'* < Av. *mäsryar-*, *jä* (< **yidä*) *'husband's brother's wife'*, and *jäš* *'liver'* show that initial *y*-results in Orm. *j*-. Probably also **wey* > **y* > *j*, cf. *jäk* *'place'*. But **wi* > *ji*-, *jistä* *'20'*; Logar *jäsp* *'span'* < **wiaspi*-. (cf. my Orm. Grammar, § 45, op. cit.). The Kaniguram words (or *'span'*: *jäsp*, *zäst* are difficult, to explain. *jäsp* might possibly be derived from **jwäsp* < **jwäsp* (> Logar *jäsp*). But *zäst* < **jäst* can scarcely be derived with assimilation of *j*-s > *j*-s.

¹ Vol. VII, No. 1.
² Vol. X.

³ Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages, by Georg Morgenstierne, Vol. I, Parachi and Ormuri, Oslo 1929.

¹ According to the L.S.I. 4-500.

² Cf. the secondary development of *šw* > *šp* in Psh. *špät* *'6'*, *ryšpät* *'belly'* < *rišwät*; Kabuli Psh. *ryšpät* *'rope'* < *rišwän*.

from **jnasl* < **wīnasī-*. It would be very strange, indeed, if the forms **wīnasī-* and **wīnasī-* should both have survived in Kaniguram. Note, however, Bal. *gidīsh*, *gidīsh* and *gidīsh*. Also *jān-* 'to see' is difficult. It is conceivable that Ir. **wān-*, through **wān-*, might result in **jān-*, but scarcely in *jān-*.

In some cases we find words known previously from the Logar dialect, but not from Kaniguram. E. g. *ṛāṣ* 'snow' which shows that the derivation of Logar *ṛāṣ* from Av. *raṣna-* is correct.

It may not be useless to record such Orm. words from the Kaniguram dialect, which are already given in the L.Sl. In most cases the words I heard corroborate the forms transcribed in the L.Sl. from the Qawāid-Ḥarfistā. On the whole (Ḥulām Muhammad Khān appears to have noted down the words with great accuracy. And in some cases (e. g. as regards the distribution of *ṣ* and *ṣ̣*) his forms may be more correct than those which I recorded during the very short time at my disposal. In other cases the forms given in this vocabulary will probably be more accurate, especially as regards the vowels.

In the case of a few words only, the forms given in the L.Sl. appear to be evidently incorrect, either owing to misprints in the Qawāid-Ḥarfistā, or to errors in the original notation. Such words are e. g. L.Sl. *kīrnat* 'ten' (cf. Voc. s. v. *kīrzi*), *yūwān* 'watercourse' (cf. s. v. *yūwān*), *yūwān* 'calf' (cf. s. v. *yūwān*), *ṣ̣māṣ* '16' (cf. s. v. *ṣ̣māṣ*). All my informants pronounced *ṣ̣ṣ* '3'; but L.Sl. *ṣ̣ṣ* may possibly be an older form. I heard *māṣ* '19', *ṣ̣māṣ* '50'; but L.Sl. *māṣ*, *ṣ̣māṣ*. Here (Ḥulām Muhammad Khān has probably been influenced by the preceding numeral *ṣ̣ṣ* '40'. The Kazmak man, and the second Isaniya student, had *ṣ̣māṣ* '60' (Logar *ṣ̣māṣ*); but my principal Isaniya informant pronounced *ṣ̣māṣ*, cf. L.Sl. *ṣ̣māṣ*. I heard *āḥ*, *hāḥ* 'egg' of which L.Sl. *hāwāḥ*, if correct, may be a more archaic form.

A great number of the words recorded in the following vocabulary are loan-words from Psht.¹ A few only of these words present

¹ Note *māṣ* 'slave' from Psht., but L.Sl. *māṣ*, a genuine Orm. form.

the phonetical peculiarities of the adjoining Waziri dialect. Cf. s. v. v. *diṣ*, *ṛīdān*, *kāḥ*, *kṛb*, *kāwān*, *ḥipnān*, *ṛṛāḡ*, *ṛṛṛṛ*, *uṛṛai*. The great bulk of Psht. loanwords, however, have the ordinary Psht. vowels *a*, *ā*, *ā*, *ā*, not Waz. *ā* (*ā*, *ā*, *ā*). Numerous examples will be found all through the vocabulary. Very frequently we find *i*, *u* for Waz. *ā*. While some of the Orm. forms seem to be more archaic than the Waz. ones (e. g. *ṛṛṛṛ*, *kṛb*, *ḥīḥ*, *ḥīḥ*, *mṛṛṛ*, *mṛṛṛ*, *mṛṛṛ*, *ṣ̣māṣ* etc.), in others the *i* *u* are due to a secondary development (e. g. *yṛṛṛṛṛ*, *ṣ̣māṣ*, *yṛṛṛṛṛ*, *yṛṛṛṛṛ* etc.). Forms such as *mṛṛṛ* 'bread', *mṛṛṛṛ*, *mṛṛṛṛ* 'nephew', *mṛṛṛṛ* 'cloud', *mṛṛṛṛ* 'brother's wife' are more archaic as regards the consonants than Waz. *mṛṛṛṛ*, *mṛṛṛṛ*, *mṛṛṛṛ*, *mṛṛṛṛ*. In *ṣ̣māṣ* 'jaw' (Waz. *ṣ̣māṣ*, Psht. *ṣ̣māṣ*, cf. Skr. *jumbhā-*) the *u* is, in spite of the etymology of the word, probably of secondary origin, cf. *ṣ̣māṣ* with original *m*. Cf. *ṣ̣māṣ* 'saddle', and (Orm. in § 51).

It is not, however, necessary to assume that Orm. has got its Psht. loan-words from another dialect than Waz. As far as we know, the (Ḥumms of Kaniguram have never been in contact with any other Pathan tribe, and it is probable that they have borrowed the bulk of Psht. words contained in their language, at a time when Waz. peculiarities of pronunciation were not yet fully developed. Waz., like several other Psht. dialects, distinguishes between fem. stems in *-yē* (< **-ade-*) and in *-ai* (< **-ade-*). In Standard Psht. both kinds of stems have the suffix *-ai*. In Orm. of Kaniguram we find *-āḥ*, *-yē* (L.Sl. *-yē*) in all cases, e. g. *ṛṛṛṛ* 'duck', *ṛṛṛṛ* 'collar'; Waz. *ṛṛṛṛ*, *ṛṛṛṛ*. Orm. has generalized this form in order to avoid the masculines in *-ai* and the feminines in *-āḥ* (> Waz. *ai*) being identical in form. In Waz. the change of *-ai* to *-āḥ* has resulted in several feminine nouns being transferred to the masculine (cf. s. v. v. *ṛṛṛṛ*, *ṛṛṛṛ*), and in some cases such words have been borrowed as masculines into Orm. (cf. s. v. v. *ṛṛṛṛṛ*, *ṛṛṛṛṛ*), borrowed before the change of *ā* > Waz. *ā*, but after *-ai* had become *-āḥ*.

The treatment of Waz. *ṣ̣* in loanwords in Orm. varies. In some words we find Orm. s. E. g. *ṣ̣ṣ* (B. *ṣ̣ṣ*) 'sand', *ṣ̣ṣṣ* 'lip', *ṣ̣ṣṣṣ* 'moon', *ṣ̣ṣṣ* 'to neigh', *ṣ̣ṣṣṣ* 'begeth', *ṣ̣ṣṣ* 'cat', *ṣ̣ṣṣ* 'cream'.

But in several of these words *s* is found in Psht. dialects, too. *sirwā* 'soup' corresponds to Psht. *šārwā*, *šārwā*. The Waz. form has not been recorded, but we should expect **šārwā*. Orm. *siḥaq* 'thorn', *saḥḥ* 'tip' are probably genuine, with *s < sr* (Orm. Gr. § 67), and not borrowed, with *s < Psht. š*. But 'Islamic' *šayy* may have been influenced by the Psht. form.

In most cases we find (Orm. *š* representing Waz. *š* (= *š* and *š*)¹. I have recorded *š* in *šāsiḥa* 'beautiful' (Waz. *šāsiḥa*); but possibly *š* is actually pronounced in other loan-words, too, corresponding to Psht. *š*.

The sound transcribed *š'* contains a short, but distinct, unvoiced *r*-sound. The first part of the compound appears to be pronounced with the tip of the tongue bent further back than in ordinary *š*.

Intervocalic *y* is really a nasalized *r* (the nasalization extending to the preceding vowel), and different from the postalveolar *y* in *yā*, *yā*.

The final *y* (L.SI²) is rather mixed, something like a very low and retracted *a*. The acoustic quality of the sound varies a good deal.

Words recorded from my Kaznak informant are unmarked; (B) after a word denotes that I heard it in Islamiya only. B after a word that I heard the same form from both informants.

Other abbreviations are: L: the Logar dialect of Ormmu; K: the Kaniguran dialect of Ormmu (as described in the L.SI. = Linguistic Survey of India); EVI³ is my Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto; Orm. Voc., Orm. Grammar, Par. Voc. denote the vocabularies and Grammars of Ormmu and Parachi contained in my account of these languages mentioned above.

Waz. denotes that a word is quoted from Lohmer's Waziri vocabulary. The Waz. form of Psht. loanwords in (Orm. is given, whenever possible. In some cases I have recorded the Waz. equivalent of an Orm. word, as given by my informants.

† before a word denotes that it has not previously been recorded in Orm. (obvious loan-words are unmarked); * before a word denotes that it was not previously known from K.

¹ J. G. Lohmer in his 'Grammar' and Vocabulary of Waziri Pashto' (Calc. 1902) does not distinguish between these two sounds.

The arrangement is based on the alphabetical order of the consonants, the vowels coming into consideration in cases only in which the same consonant or consonants are followed or separated by different vowels. Nasalized vowels count as *n*.

Etymologies not given here will be found in the Orm. Voc.

Vowels.

a- definite article.

-a pron. suff. 3 sg.

† *ē*- 'to sit', *az ēm* 'I am sitting', *ō sarai ē* 'this man is sitting'.

< ā-hat, *ā-hida*.

i- locative prefix.

ō this. K *hō*, L *a*.

āhar (B) 'cloud'. Pers. Cf. *varā*.

idāl (B) 'nether'.

afā, B. *afā* m., *afā* f., *afā* pl. 'that'.

afā bi-zānā 'four days ago'.

af- B contracted pron. 3 sg.

ēlēt 'duck'. Waz. *ēlēt* f. — Psht. *hēlēt* is considered to be a loan-word from Skt. *hilla* (EVI³). s. v. l. But cf. Vidgha *yēkh*.

**āḥyākā* (?), Munji *yēkhā* etc. ~ **āḥkā* (?), poss. Wabli *yē*.

ahkār (B) 'light' (adj.). Waz. *āḥ*.

amar- (B) 'to hear'. *az bu har tā a-xabare amaram* 'I hear your words'.

ānūd (B) 'mirror'. Waz. *ānūn*.

ānūd (B) *ēnd*, B. *hānūd* 'blind'. *afai tūt in* 'they are blind'.

andra 'grindstone'. Waz.

ānūr 'fig', Psht.

ānūr, B. *hūt*; *ēlēt*, B. *hūt* 'to grind'. *ēlēt-a bu*, *ēlēt-a*, B. *hūt*.

hākam-a. K *hūt* 'rk'.

āḥ, B. *hōyē*, pl. *ēlēt*, B. *hēt* 'egg'. L. *āḥ*, K. *hāmāḥ*. *āḥ* is

apparently a younger form of K **(h)āḥ*.

āḥ is 'egg'.

āḥ is 'egg'.

āḥ is 'egg'.

† *iz* 'mussuck, inflated skin'. < **izya*, v. EVP. s. v. *zai*, cf. Mi. *yijya*, Yd. *izē*, Bal. etc. *zik* etc.

inčān, B *inčān* 'the day before yesterday'. *prān-inčān*, *mān-inčān*, *aśa-bi-inčān*. L *inčān*, K *inčān*. < **anya*- (+ *i*/?) + *ačna*, cf.

Av. *azam*- 'day', Ishk. *pa-r-uzd* (*zd* < *zu*) 'yesterday'

inəsəl cān 'last year but one'. Cf. *inčān*.

ira 'saw'. Waz. *āra*.

arjuna 'yawn'. a' *yē b-kēm*. 'I am yawning'. Waz. *arjuna*.

Uruṇṇi (B) 'Ornori'.

ārat 'wide, broad'. Psh.; Waz. *adrat*. V. *hāṣ'at*.

aržai 'cructation'. Psh.

isāb 'reckoning'. *isāb kēm*. Waz. *hisob*.

āsal cān B 'this year'.

asman, B *asman* 'sky'. Waz. *asman*.

ispek B 'barley'.

asē 'to stand'. a *sapin asēn*.

ašān B '80'. *ašān u das* B go. K *hāšāt*.

ašās B '18'.

anān B '70'.

inul (B) 'thither'. L. "real".

awəs-; *ayōk* B 'to reach'. *awasam*, *ayōkam*. *ayōk* 'was born'.

awēs B '17'.

axar 'manger'. L. *axare*. P's.

a-čr 'smeating'. *čeri wā b-axr kēm* 'now I am smeating'. plaster-

ing it; *ačr-am dōk*. Psh.

axšai B 'wife's brother'. Waz. *wōšai*.

az B '1'.

žē 'shoulder'. Waz. *žai*.

ašān B 'millet'. K *ašān*, L. *axam*.

B.

bi B, 'other'. *bi-cān* 'next year'.

bā, b. verbal particle.

bai 'near'. B *bayer-ha*. L *bay*.

baciri B 'spark'. Waz. *bacirrai*.

bād B 'wind'. Waz. *bād*.

badā 'song'. P's. *badā* *yecsam*.

badān B 'almond'. Waz. *badān*.

buč 'concealed'. *buč-a b-kēm*. L. *puč*, K *buč*. Waz. *puč*. Cf. Orm.

(Gramm. § 4B).

bāy 'garden'. Waz. *bāy*.

bup 'to bellow'. *buyi* 3 sg. L. *bay*.

buyrē 'pestle (= *mōdih*, mortar'. Waz. *buyrē* f. 'hole in the

Ground used as a mortar'.

† *bayur* 'chuck'. Waz. *bayuru*. Cf. Torw. *logil*, acc. to Grierson

< SKT. *kaphor* (> **kabala* > **bokala*)-?

bāko 'bucket'. Psh. *bōka*, Waz. *bāra*.

bala- (B) 'to light, kindle'. *az bu a-ramin balān* 'I light the

fire', *balācan* 'to light'. Waz. *balwāl*.

batā (B) 'cut'. Inv. Cf. *pus*.

batāš 'pillow'. Psh. *bāhš*.

bānu, B *bānu* 'earth'.

bamborē 'wasp'. K *bamborai*. Waz. *bambor*.

bāng 'crowing'. *a-pūg bu bāng kūt*. Waz. *bāng* 'call to prayers'.

bānā 'cowpen in the hills'. Waz. *bānā*.

bār 'door'.

bārāi m., *bārā* f. 'calf, one year old'. K *bārāi*.

bārāu B 'rain'. P's.

bāng 'full-blown flower'. Waz. *bāng*.

baw 'lightning'. K *bawš'el* 'to glitter'. Waz. *bršā* 'flash of

lightning'.

bršāšk 'pain in the ribs'. Waz. *bršā* 'wing, shooting pain'.

brē, B *brē* 'moustache'. Waz.

baršā 'steam'. Psh.

**hēs*, B *hēs* 'rope'. L. *hēs*.

basta 'bound'. *basta kēu-a bu*. P's.

bāš f. 'hawk'. Psh.

bajēr m., *bajēra* f. 'quail, *surpaz*', K *bačr* f. Waz. *bačr*.

būt-yuz 'the day after to-morrow'. Cf. *bi*.

bijān B 'waist'. < **niyān*.

- bijēn*, pl. *-i* 'foal, colt'. Waz. *bijōu*.
bās m. 'hawk'. Pshl.
biz-: pyk 'to cook'. *bizim*, *pykum-a*. L. *biz-*, K. *biz-*.
buz 'he-goat'. Pts.
bizar (B) 'arm'. K. *bazar*.
buzwa B 'spider'. K. *buzwa*.
bēza, in *i-bēza* 'above'. L. *phēzga*, K. *ph-bēzga*.

C.

- † *cayāu* 'tripod, *layarūi*'. Waz. *tēyana*. Pts. *tēyua* 'iron plate used for baking bread'.
cāk 'cold'. L. *cik* 'cold', K. *cāk* 'acid'. If K has preserved the original meaning of the word, it might be derived from **cārāikā*, cf. Skr. *cakra*- 'vinegar', etc. But cf. Waz. *cik* 'rheumatism' = 'cold'?
cakī 'knife'. Waz. *tākī*, *ōkī*.
cām f. pl. *cēmī*, B *cāmī* 'eye'. *sa cām* 'one eye'.
cimca 'spoon, ladle'. Waz. *cameikai*, *samsa*.
cām B 'year'. L. *cām*, K. *cām*.
cāngga B, pl. *cējji* 'branch'. Waz. *cōngga*.
cangul B 'elbow'. Waz. *cangul*.
cimic, v. *cimic*.
caphē (pl.?), B. *caphūi* 'sandal'. Waz. *caphai*.
cār B '4'.
cir- 'to cleave, tear'. *cirum-a bu*. Pshl.; Waz. *cīrāl*.
ciryušet 'four-pronged threshing fork'. Orm. + Pshl. Cf. *yēšai*.
cērijisu '24'.
carmūn 'hide, skin'. Waz. *carmān*.
cāres, B *cāres*, *cārés* '14'.
cax (B) 'mill wheel'. Waz.
cijmūnūi, B *cijmūne* 'early spring'. Waz. *caymūnūi*.
cāšim B '40'.
cāšima (B) 'housewife'. L. *cāšim*, K. *lušim*, Waz. *cāšim* m.
cātai 'sheaf'. Waz. *cātai*.
caw- 'to go'. *nak bu cawa* 'the water flows'.

- cwan-* 'to shake dust out of clothes'. < **haia hwan-* cf. Mj. *hwanum* 'I winnow', Pshl. *huanum* etc.
craŋ 'fat'.

Č.

- čō* (B) 'ceiling'. K. *čiw*.
čig B 'high, *wič*'. Waz. *čag*.
čakē 'hammer'. Cf. L. *čuknē* (Pts.). *-k* < *-šk*?
čankūl 'doorframe'. Ind.
čielō, B *čēlo* 'left (hand)'. K. *čel*.
čūnūt, B *čūnūt* 'woman's hair'. Waz. *cunūt*.
† *čūn* 'sneeze'. *čūn nūt dōk* 'I sneezed'.
čirgōlūt m., *čirgōlūt* l. 'chicken'. Diminutive of Pshl. Waz. *čirg*.
čat 'roof'. Pshl.

D.

- dī* a particle indicating existence.
dē(h)- 'to beat, hit'. *dēm-a bu* 'I beat him', *pa pāri wō b-dēm* 'I hit his feet', *pa mīlō-a b-dēm* 'I hit him with the gun', *bād dēna* 'the wind blows'. K. *jōk* 3. 'to throw, propel', aor.
1 sg. *dēm*, 3 sg. *dū*.
dēō B, pl. *dūwē*, *dūwē* 'laughter'.
**dučē*, pl. *dučē* 'shoe'. L. *dēi*. Prob. the original sg. was **dūk*.
dēg, B *dēg* 'cooking-pot'. Pts.
dūjār, B *dūjār* 'maize'. L. *dōjār*, cf. Mando Khel Pshl. *dūzār*.
dika, pl. *dūke* (B) 'pupil of the eye'. < **dūkākā*, cf. Pts. *dūdah*.
dīko 'girl'. Cf. *dīō*.
dul contracted pron. 2 prs.
dāmūn 'hen'. Pts.
dāmū, pl. *dēm* 'a single grain of corn'. Pts. Waz. *nāmū*.
dāna B 'wheat flour'. Waz. *dūna*. < Ind. < Pts.
† *dās* (B) 'goat's wool'. Cf. Shgh. *došē*, Sar. *dōrs*, Mj. *hurs*, id., Pshl. *dās* hair, Brahui *darussum* (short from [r-]).
† *dāš*, B *dāš* (U) 'sickle'. Pts. *dās*, Pshl. *hor*, Sangl. *dār*, etc.
Skr. *dātṛa-*.

diʒə, pl. *dri* B 'hair'. L *dri*, K *dri*.

dri: *drik*, B *druk* 'to cut grain'. *driwa-a bu*, *az drik-a*; B *az bu a-gumün driwa* 'I cut the wheat', *az piri a-gumün drik-a* 'I cut the wheat yesterday'.

driy B 'long'.

driya 'stubble'. Waz. *driya*.

† *driyɛ*, B *driyɛ* 'bow'. Cf. Soghol. *driwa* 'bow', (155. *driyɛ*, Prs. *driyana* 'rainbow', etc.

driši, B *driši* 'lies'. L *driši*, K *driši*.

driyɛ 'carpet, durree'. Ind.

daryāb B 'river'. Waz. *daryāb*.

driy 'weaver'. Ind.

dri B 10.

dri, B *dri* 'hand'. *az bu a-dri* (a *xeni dri*) *ywaš awim* 'I wash my hand (hands)'. K *dri*(l).

dus: *dak*, B also *dusib*, 'to milk'. *dusum*, *dik-a*. L *dāš*, K *dus-yek*.

dri v. *dri*.

† *daxār* m. 'a kind of bird'. V. *pū*. Prs. *haxwār*?

durwisi '22'.

drowl 'wall'. Waz. *drowl*.

dwas B. *dwas* '12'.

dri, B. *dri*, *dri* '2'.

driyāsi 'wopronged threshing fork'. Orm. + Psh. Cf. *yēsi*.

driyā 'firewood'.

dri 'rough'. Waz. *dri*, Psh. *ziḡ*.

D.

dād B 'lungs'. Waz. *dād* 'hollow', *dādā* 'side of the body'.

dak 'satisfied'. Waz.

din (B) 'belly'. K.

dambur (B) 'wasp'. Psh. *dambur*, Waz. *dambakui* 'wasps' nest'.

dand 'pool'. Waz.

daggar 'lean, weak'. Waz.

dār (B) 'to fear'. *az bu dāran*. Waz. *dor*.

G.

gā 'bed'. K *gā*. Cf. Prs. *gāh* 'place, throne' < O. Prs. *gāh*. *gā* B 'ear'.

gidir B 'jackal'. Waz.

gidai 'hame'. Psh.

gideti 'bellows'. Wapochi Psh. *gāli* 'clown (made of an inflated skin)'. Lbl. *gidā* 'a small inflated skin'.

gāko 'flesh, meat'.

gā: *gastak*, f. *gask* (B) 'to take away'. *ghin-a*.

gā 'to twist'. *gāhu*.

gāl 'lying down'. *gāl-a*. K *gāl* < **garta*, cf. K *gatak* 'lying upon' < **garšak* < **garšakn*. Originally 'bending, bent'?

gāl 'flower'. Waz.

gāl (B) to extinguish. *gāhina bu*. Prs.

galy (B) 'shoulder'.

gāh, pl. *gāli* B 'rat'.

B *gā* 'stick, wood'. Cf. Lbl. *gān*, *gān*, 'handle', (Kalasha *gānd*.) 'wood, stick'?

**gāl* 'human excrements'. L. *gāl*. Prs.?

gumun, B *gūmun* 'wheat'.

gōnd 'sack, bag'. Waz. *ghar*, *gōni* f.

gānd B 'to sew'. *gāndān-a bu*, B. *gāndan*. Waz.

† *gānd* 'highling with somebody'. *gānd san*.

gāndi 'knee'. Waz. *gānd*. Ind.? Cf. W. Bal. *gāndak*.

gāngai 'dumb'. Waz. *gāng*.

gāp B 'stone'.

gā B 'mountain'.

gārā, pl. *gārā* B 'kid'.

gāst (B) 'space between the fingers'; Psh. *gān*, Waz. *gān*.

Afr. *gānd*. But why *gā*?

gāngā 'centipede'. K *gāngā*.

gākai (B) dem. of *gārā*.

gān (B) 'heavy'. Waz. *gān*.

gānā (B) 'collar-bone'. Waz. *gānā*.

gizra- 'to vomit'. *gizrañu ba*. Waz. *gorzawal* i. a. 'to vomit'.

garpai 'water-pot'. Waz. *garpi*.

† *garpbizik* 'span between thumb and second finger'. Sherani

Psh. *gudbasai*, Kakar Psh. *gudhazai* etc.

girdai 'round'. Waz. *girdai*.

gurguriti 'carving'. Psh. *gurguriti* etc. Cf. K *gungit* 'dung-breath'.

gas, B pl. *gas* 'cattle'.

gid, pl. *gid*, B *gid*, pl. *gid* m., f. 'bull, cow'.

I.

yibad 'threshing'. *yibad bu kin*. Waz. *yibad*.

yeban 'cowherd'. Waz. *yeban*.

yaf-: *yafak* 'to weave'. *yafur-a bu yban*.

yab 'grain'. Waz. *yab*.

yabai 'courtyard'. Waz. *yabai*.

yabul 'sieve, for grain'. Waz.

yalei (B) 'carpet'. Psh.

† *yubak* 'kitchen'; < *yubakar*, cf. P's. *gurdai*, Psh. *pušar-watga*.

Mj. *aušg'ig*, Sangl. *wjle*, Av. *yubakar*.

yubani, B. *yubani* 'riding-bit, saddle'. < P's. *bagam*.

† *yund-iñcan* (B) 'to sew with a large needle'. Cf. Psh. *du yundi*

slan 'pick-needle'?

yin 'penis'. Waz. *yin*, Psh. *yin*.

yund 'knot'. Psh. *yund* 'round', Waz. *yinda* 'button', etc.?

yab- 'to bark'. *a-spag bu yabu*. Waz. *yabul*.

yadi 'heplaced'. K *yadi*. Waz. *yadai*, *yadai*. Cf. *yadai*.

yir 'hole of the ear'. Waz. *yir* 'hole'.

yurib 'pool'. Waz.

yircanai B 'mountain-goat, *šāzai*'. Waz. *yircanai*.

yarni 'noon'. Waz. *yarnu*.

yās B 'black, spleen' (cf. Psh. *tor* 'black', *torai* 'spleen').

yāsa špān (B) 'the temples' (: 'black and white').

† *yuzand*, pl. *and*, 'dust' 'falcon, *šāhin*'. Cf. Psh. *yuzand* 'to jump, toss about, be agitated'.

yaf- 'to wrap up'. *yafin-a bu*, K, Waz. *yāpā*.

yēai, B. *yēai* 'arrow'. Waz. *yēai*.

* *yōš*, B *yōš*, *yōš* 'snow'. L *yōš*.

yūš, (B) 'to fear'. *yūšom*. L *yūš*, K *yuaš*.

yūš (B) 'to frighten'. *yūšēom*.

yaf 'bud'. Waz. *yāa*.

yaf-tangai 'thigh'. L *yaf*, K *yau* 'fat'. Waz. *yau*.

yulfa-guši (B) 'thumb'.

yuañ B 'canal, water-course'. K *yuañu* (?). Cf. Psh. *añu*, *añu* etc., Av. *uadi-*.

yuar 'oadi'. K.

yuas, pl *yuañ*, B *yuas* 'call'. L *yusku*, K *yau*. The preservation of *Aryan* *ts* in K *e* is very improbable, and the form with *e* is probably incorrect.

yuas, B *yos*: *yēk* 'to speak, read'. *yuasana bu*, *az yēk-a*;

B. *yosum*, 3 sg. *yusi*, 1 pl. *yuar bu a-kutib yusiñ*, *az a-kutib yēka*. L *yūš*, K *yuar*. Av. *uān*, cf. Meillet, JSL. 26, 19.

yuañi 'grass'. K.

yuañ-a: *yuañ-ā* (B) 'to wash'. *yuañ-ayūn*, *az bu a-xuqi disti* *yuañ-ēñin* I washed my hands. L *yuañ*, K *yuañ-ā*.

yuañ: *yuañik*, *yuañak* (B) 'to fall'. *a-wat yāšk*. L *yuañ*, K *yuar*. † *yuañad* 'tal (subst.)', *uāzadai*, < *uāzadu*? (Cf. Sangl. *uāš*, Mj. *uāzad*, Psh. [VY] s. v. *uāzadu*).

II.

h, B *hō* 'j'. L *hō*, K *hō*.

hōnd, v. *hōnd*.

hāl, v. *hāl*.

hāš B 'g'. L *āš*, K *hāš*.

† *hāšat* (B) 'white, broad'. *at* (q, v.) from Psh. Orm. *-š*, as well as Psh. *-r*, could be derived from **θr*; but Orm. and Psh. *-t* cannot both be derived from the same ancient fr. group of consonants. Is the Orm. word bor. from an earlier Psh. form (**hāat*)?

haw: *hišak* (B) 'to read'. *az hawu*, 2 sg. *hai*, 3 sg. *afō bu a-kiāb hawu*, imper. 2 sg. *yō*, *az a-kiāb hišak-a*. 1. *aw*.

K *haw* (imper. and pres. 2 sg. *wiā*).

hawīštu '27'.

hazā (B) '1000', v. *zūr*.

J.

† *ja*, pl. *jāi* 'husband's brother's wife, *yōr*'. Cf. Mj. *yōi*, Sangl. *yāb* < **yāb*, Psh. *yōr* < **yāb*.

jāk 'place'. K *jāk*, 1. *jāi*.

jam 'to wink'. *jamim*. Psh.

jēm 'below'. *i-jēm*.

jan 'to beat, strike'. *kambō janani* 'I swim'. 1. *zan*, K *zan*, *jan*, *jān*, B *jan*: *dyāk* 'to see'. *dyāb ba sa* 'it appears', *janēm*, 1. *jūš*.

K *jām*. Cf. the introduction.

† *jandā*, B *jandā* 'mill'. *ta jandā pad* 'mill-stone', *ta dist jandā* 'hand-mill'. Waz. *zandra*, Psh. *jaramda*, *zrimda* etc.

† *jāš* 'liver'. < **yāš*, Av. *yākur*: Psh. *yina*, Yd. *yāyūn* < **yān*.

jarkō 'woman'. 1. *zarka*, K *zarka*. Cf. Waz. *jilkai* girl?

J.

jasp 'span', v. *zasp*. 1. *jusp*.

jandir 'oats'. Psh.

jag 'foam'. Psh. *zāg*.

jāgār 'laded, withered'. Waz. *jūgār*, Psh. *jūgār*.

jōr 'sound, well'. Waz.

jōra 'to knit'. *jōram*. Waz. *jōramal* 'to make'.

jista B, *ajista* '20'.

† *jōšai* 'afternoon'.

K.

k: *adō* B 'to do'. *kēm*, 3 sg. *kū*.

kaē 'to measure'. *kūim-a bu*. Waz. *kaē* 'measure'.

kāōir, m., *kāōira* f. 'mule'. Waz.

† *kaf* 'straw, bus, *pōre*, *fatia*'. K *purōr*. P's. *kafasg* 'bushes,

chaff' < *kaf* 'froath, foam'?

kafāu 'hoe'. P's. *kufāuāu* 'to cleave, cut open'?

kafāw 'basket, camel-pannier'. Waz. *kafāwa*.

kak 'a kind of bread'. Waz.

kakarī B 'top of the head'. Waz. *kakarai* f.

kāf B 'knife, *ēnra*'.

kilī 'village'. Waz. *koli*.

k'āik 'boy'. 1. *kāank*, K *k'āank*.

k'ān, pl. *k'ānā* B 'son'.

kāmbaka 'blanket'. Psh.

kānār (B) 'rock'. Waz. '

kānārband 'belt'. Waz.

kou B 'deaf'. K *kūu*. Cf. Waz. *kūu*.

kānā B 'tick, *kānā*'.

kūnda 'to dig'. *kūnda-a bu*. Waz. *kūndal*.

kūnāthi 'podex'. Waz. *kūnāthi*.

kāng(g)uram (B) *kānguram*.

kānaw, B *kānawā* 'hoof'. Waz. *kānāwa*.

† *kūnā* 'lobe of the ear'. Ind.?

kūngai (B) 'shield'. Waz.

† *kūngem* 'vomiting'. *kūngem bu stū* 'I vomit'.

kāp 'to cut'. *kāpim*.

kūr 'to till'. *a-ānna b-kānū*.

kāp 'wool'. *az bu kāp kēm*. Waz. *kāp*.

kēb 'shtop'. Waz. *kēb* < *rikāb*.

† *kūyūg*, *kūyūgāk* (B) 'thorn, *yūndā*'.

kārīz (B) 'ploughshare, *kārīkū*'.

kūyūg 'ice'. Waz. *kāyūg* < Psh. *kūyūg*.

kūst (B) 'chain'. Waz. *kūstī*.

kūyūl 'hawk, *fāpūs*'. Cf. *kūzī*, and Psh. *yul* thief.

**kūzī* B 'hen'. K *kūzī* lace, to L.Sl. the meaning of this word

which occurs once only in the Qawāli-c Bārgāstā, is uncertain).

† *kūzīzī* 'spade'. Wamechi Psh. *kōz*. Cf. P's. *kūnz* 'arrow'.

kūyū, *kūzī* 'crow, *erōy*'. Waz. *kūyū*.

kūyū 'to shear'. *kūyūm-a bu*. Cf. Ind. *kūyū* etc.?

kēs B 'shirt'. Psh.

kūs 'vulva'. Psh.

- kiāb* B 'book'. Waz. *kiāb*.
koj 'coat'. Engl.
kiwāi, B. *kāai* 'a well'. Waz. *kūai*.
kūu 'anus'. V. *kunūai*. Waz. *kūu* 'pudendum muliere'.
kōō 'crooked'. Waz. *kōō*.
kōōa 'to bend'. *kōōai-a bu*.

L.

- lid* 'dung of horses'. Waz. *lad*.
lāf B 'coverlet'. Psh. *lāf*.
 † *lagd* 'owl, *črāyē*'.
 † *lagge* 'sineu'.
lugai B 'smoke'. Waz. *hūai*.
lik B 'to write'. B. inf. *likyēcam*. Waz. *likai*.
lik B 'to ascend, climb'. *as-al bu ikam*, *ikam al bu* I ascend, imper. *lik al* ascend, B *as al bu ikām*. Cf. Waz. *ikāidil*.
likē B 'tail'. Waz. *lukai* f.
likeyahā 'shooting star'. Cf. *lihi*.
lakūndim 'tail' (?). Cf. *hiki*?
lakašiwai (B) 'Indian gazelle'. K *lukaš'wa*, Waz. *lukašinyē*. Psh. *lake* 'spot' and 'squirrel', cf. Av. *sra*. 'horn'.
lala 'to hang'. *as lalahu bu*, imper. *lala bu*. K. Waz. *lālel* intr.
lalan 'weeding'. *lalan bu kem*. Waz. *lahu*.
lenu (B) 'eyeball'. Psh. *lenu*.
lūna (B) 'snare'. Waz. *lūna*.
lunba (B) 'flame'. Waz. *lamba*.
lunbō 'swimming'. *lunbō jūnam*.
 † *lunai* 'hawk, *lupās*'.
lunsai 'felt'. Waz. *lansai*.
lunū 'short'. Waz. *lunū*.
lunūai 'low'. Cf. *lunū*.
lungai 'thigh'. Psh. cf. Waz. *lungya* 'leg'.
lura (B) 'gus'. Psh. *lura*.
 † *luri* 'board'. Psh. ? But K *lurā*, pl. *lurāi*.
lurāu B 'scorpion'. Waz.

- luruū* (B) 'entrails'. Waz. *luruū*.
lēš 'beard of barley, etc.'. Waz. *lēšā*.
lēšai 'wooden cup'. Waz. *lēšai*.
lēwū B 'wolf'. Waz. *lēw*.
lēwāi B 'husband's brother'. Waz. *lēwāi*.
lēwāi 'lamb, *lēwāi*'.

M.

- mai* sg. and pl., B *mai* 'ewe'.
maī B 'fish', Pers.
mēčū 'tandril'. Waz. *mēčū*. Patola (Dardic) *mēčū* is borrowed from Psh., and supports the derivation of the Psh. word from Greek *μηχυρή*, proposed Arta Or. VII, p. 200. Cf. Alban. *mākrr* id. < Greek.
maidūm (B) 'plain'. Waz. *maidūm*.
maye 'narrow'. Waz. *maye*.
mēk 'salt'. V. *mēk*.
mekayūai B 'neck'. Waz. *mekayūai*.
mūnū B 'husband'.
mūnū 'pestle'. Waz. *mūnū*.
maū? (B) *paū* *maū a-xuū* *gāsk* 'my feet are tired (?)'.
milliy 'gun'. Turk.
mūlē, mūlūjū, B. *mūlē* 'apple'. I. *mūlē*, K *mūlē*.
mūnū, in: *mēn-mēnū* 'three days ago', *mūn byē-rūnē* 'three days hence', *mēn bi-cam* 'three years hence'.
mūnū B 'autumn'. Waz. *mūnū*.
mūnūjū 'nest'. Waz. *mūnūjū*.
mūnūkū 'jay, *mūnūka, xāwūnū*'. K *mūnū*.
mūnūqū, B *mūnūqū* 'trunk of a tree, *mūnūqū*'. Psh. *mūnūqū*.
mūnūqūlū 'claw'. Waz. *mūnūqūlū*.
mūnūqūlū B, pl. *mūnūqūlū* 'snake'. Waz. *mūnūqūlū*.
mūnūqūlū 'throat'. Waz. *mūnūqūlū*.
mūnūqūlū 'pain'. Waz. *mūnūqūlū*.
mūnūqūlū 'slave'. Waz. *mūnūqūlū*. But K *mūnū* is genuine.
mūnūqūlū B, 'ant'.

mīrēg, pl. *mīyī* 'sparrow'.

murečā B 'brother'.

marāzjy, pl. *marajji*, B *marijy* 'frog, čindaxa, čingasa'. K *marjy* 'pl. *marjyji*'.

marjind (B) 'wrist'. Waz. *marjindai*.

† *masšāy* 'brain'. Pl. *masšorg* 'brain, skull'. Av. *masšrayan*.

Cf. Kakař Psh. *mařax* < 'mašřay'?

mašāka 'beak'. Waz. *mašika*.

mīš m., sg. and pl. 'buffalo'. K. Waz. *maš*.

mīša f., pl. *mīšā* 'buffalo'. K. Waz. *maša*.

mīšt B sg. and pl. 'fly'. K *mašt*.

mēš B 'sun'. *ta mēš* 'on the disk of the sun'. L. *mēš*, K *mēř*.

minda 'to shampoo'. *mindāin-a*. K *mindayek*.

matat (B) 'apricot'. K. Cf. Afidi Psh. *mandatā*.

mał (B) 'large earthen pot'. Waz. *mał*.

małla (B) 'fist'. Waz. *młai*. K *mł*.

† *māxdu* (B) 'roof-board'. Cf. Waz. *māla* 'pillar'?

māw, B *mau* 'mother'.

mawēši 'large roof-beam, rafter'. Cf. *mēša*.

māx B 'we'. *māx yōkə yēn* 'we are dirty'.

mēx 'nail'. Waz.

mēx B, 'locust, *māhāx*'.

mux, B 'face'. Prob. genuine. Waz. *max*.

muxa- (B) 'to rub'. *murčūn*. L. *mūšaw-dē*, K *mušaw-yēk*.

† *mylčūn* (B) 'root'.

myanmuryān 'peacock'. K *myaur* + *mury*.

myānčūn f., sg., pl. 'mare'. K *myānčūn*.

myānsai B 'mosquito'. Waz.

**myčāz*: *myčak* (B) 'to loosen, untie'. *myčān-a bu*, *myčak-a bu*.

L. *mčā*.

mač: *mačlak* 'to break'.

māč 'prayer'. L. *munčā*, K *umāz*.

mēz 'table'. Psh.

mucā 'to spin, twist'. *mucāin-a*, *mucāin dōk*. K *m'z-yčē* 'to

be twisted'.

† *muzā* 'whet-stone'. Cf. Waz. *mīzai*, Psh. *mīzai*.

mučarū 'dwarf-palm'. Waz. *mučarrai*.

mučarū 'tiger'. Waz. *mučarai*.

mīč 'urine'. *az bu mīč kēn*. L. *mīč*.

maživai 'peg'. Waz.

N.

m: *maslak* B 'to sit down'. *az nōn*, *tu nē*. B *az bu nōn*, *as maslak-an*.

ma 'to cause to sit down'. *to b-az man*. L. *ma(w)yčēk*.

mā, *mā*, B *ma*, *mā* 'y'.

† *mačarai*, B *mačarai* 'axe'. Psh. *māčax*.

myarū (B) 'fireplace'. Waz. V. *yādi*.

mā 'wife'.

mikiz 'to sow'. *tučūn al be mikičūn*, *mikečkan*. K *mīkiz-yč*

'to throw down, propel'. **mīč-kāzayra*, cf. Psh. *kāz* 'low', *kāzawū*

'to cause to descend', Waz. *kiz*.

**m'wēk* (B) 'salt', v. *mēk*.

mīnā B 'nose'.

m'gušā, B *gušā*, *mangušt* 'finger'. L. K *aygušt*.

gušā 'finger-ring'. K *aygušt*.

mur pl. *murī*, B *marī* 'house'. *inw*, B *winw* 'inside'.

mur-gyji 'bull'.

mur 'to hallow'. *a-gyji bu mīra*. Waz. *murčid*.

mū B 'piece of bread'. L. K *mō*, Psh. *mučarai*, Waz. *mučarai*.

mēšūn, in *pe-mēšūn* B 'outside'.

māš 'soft'. K *māš*, L. *man*.

mčā B 'to crush'. *mčāin-a*, *mčā-an dīk-a*.

meu- (B) 'to put, place'. *mēuun*. K *mēu*.

meu-jisū '29'.

mauwr 'to take out'. *a-sā bu mauwr-an*.

mařai, B *mařai* m., *mēšai*, B *mařai* f. 'grandson, granddaughter'.

Waz. *mařai*.

mauslak (B) 'asleep, lying down'. *az mauslak-an*, *tu mauslak-e*,

mauslak-e, *ařa mauslak-a*, *max mauslak-yēn*, *čōs mauslak-a*, *ařai*

mauslak-in.

nāwaxi 'late'. P's.

† *naxi*, *naxi* B 'nail'. *pa naxi-m dok* I pinched. < **naxaka*, cf. P'sht. *nāh*, Par. *nōrk* etc.

nyāh 'maternal uncle'. K *nyāh*.

nyōw B 'new'. L *nāw*, K *nyāw*.

nōr B 'daughter-in-law, nēdr'.

P.

pa 'by, at'.

piē B 'father'. L *pē*, K *piē*.

pōē (B) 'understanding'. *pōē anawam, nyōkam* 'I understand, understood'. Waz.

† *pōi* f. 'a kind of bird', v. *dasxir*. 'Owl', cf. P's. *pōi*?

pōē B 'distant'.

piāc, pl. *piāci* 'honeycomb, piece'. Waz. *piāsa*.

piākai 'dung of goats and sheep'. Waz. *piākhē* f. pl.

piānū 'foot-chain for horses'. Waz. *piānūre*.

piākh B 'buttermilk'.

pāl B 'millstone'. Waz. Prob. of Ind. origin, cf. Pashai *pāl* 'stone used in a bow', Kshn. *pāl* 'boulder' < Skt. *ṛphala*.

piā (B) 'silk'. K *pēl*, P'sht.

pāl B 'bridge'. Waz.

pōm B 'wool'.

pēnāna (B) 'pieces of charcoal, *diwa dīz skōra*'. (But Waz. *pēnāna* 'large basket', P'sht. *paināna* 'a certain dry measure'.

pū B 'honey, *gīna, gīnuu*'. In *pū niṣi* 'honey-bee, *yāhāra*'.

pōm B 'roof'.

pūnd, B *pūnd* 'heel'. Waz. *pūnda*.

pēnj, B also *pēnz*, *pēnc* 'S'.

pānjēs B '15'.

pānjāsu B '50'.

pānjīstū, *ṛjīstū* '25'.

pūnjit B 'calf of the leg'. Waz. *pūnjai* f.

pūnjik (B) 'pomegranate'. K *pūnjik*.

pūng B 'cock'.

pūngiē 'open field in the jungle'. K *pūngiē*. Waz. *pūngi* f. 'small plot of level land among the hills'.

pūngrak 'butterfly, *lorigai*'. K *pūngrak* 'moth'. Demin. of *pūng*?

pārvi 'wing'. Waz. *pār*.

pēri 'now'.

pōrū B 'yesterday'. *pōrū-inānu*.

pōsal 'last year'.

pōnu = *pōnuak* 'to sell'. *pōnuam-a bu, pōnuak-am-a*. L *pōrū*,

K *pōrū*: *pōnuak*.

pōramak (B) 'broom'. K. < **pōra-rūmpaku*, cf. P's. *rūfian*, Bal. *rōpog* to sweep, P's. *ja-rōb* 'broom', Afidi P'sht. *rōbz* < **rānpāci*.

Not connected with Yd. *pāramazō* 'broom for the treshing floor'.

pōwax 'dew'. Waz. *pōwax*.

† *pōwam* B 'sieve (for powder)'. Par. *pōrūm* < **pōrū-wānam*.

† *pōwā* 'to roast'. *pōwāna bu* 'you (accusative)'. P'sht. only *pōwāna* 'to charm, juggle'.

pāy B 'foot'. L *pāi*, K *pāi*.

pōrē 'rope, *jāsa*'. Waz. *pōrai m*.

pōrōg (B) 'leopard'. Waz. *pōrōg, pōrōg*.

pōrūkh B 'trousers'. Waz. *pōrūkh*.

pūs, pl. *pūsi* 'cat'. L *pōsi*, K *pūs*, Waz. *pōsa*. Cf. *buill*.

pōsh B 'butter'. K.

pōska 'a dumb fat'. P'sht. *pōs*.

pōsēti (B) 'thin bread'. Prob. P'sht., cf. *pōst* 'soil, smooth, flat'.

pōsēl B 'pistachio'. P'sht.

pōshit 'ribs'. Waz. *pōshai rib*.

† *pōšt* B 'threshold'. < **pōshra* 'protection' (from evil spirits?) against enemies?

pōt 'upper part of the back'. K.

† *pōti* 'saliva'. Onomatopoeic formation.

pōlra 'unleavened dough'. P'sht.

pāl, B *pāli* pl. 'leaf'. L *pāl*.

pālī 'straw of maize'. Ind.?

pāl, B *pēl* 'forehead'. L *pāl*, K *pāl*.

paḥai 'turban'. Waz.
paḥa, pl. *paḥaf* 'leaf'. Waz. *paḥa* 'leaf, feather'.
paḥai 'feather' (pl ?).
pyōz, *pyōz* (B) 'mouth'. L. *pōz*, K. *pyōz*.
pyāle 'cup'. Waz. *pyōla*.

R

rai B 'road'.
ri contracted pron. I pers.
rā, B *rā* 'iron'.
rag 'vein'. Waz.
raka, pl. *rēti* 'nit, rict', < **riśka* (*iś > uś*, etc., cf. *spāt*), Psh.
riḥa, Pers. *rīšk* etc.

rīn, B *rīn* 'clarified butter'. K, L. *rīn*, but Raverty *ruṇ*.
ruṇḥi 'sick'. K *ruṇḥi*. Waz. *ruṇḥi*.
ruṇḥ B 'brightness'. Waz. *ruṇḥ*.
rus 'cream, rus'. Waz. *ruś*.
rus 'to spit', *ruśma bu*.
rūḥi B 'brother's son'.
rūḥa, B 'brother's daughter'.
ruḥu, B *ruḥu* 'fire'. L. *rūḥ*, K. *rūḥu*.
ruḥis, B *ruḥis* 'fox, *rōrōti*'. K.
ruḥ, *a-ruḥ* 'the truth'. L. *rūḥa*, K. *rūḥa*.
ruḥu B 'rice'. L. *ruḥu*, K. *rūḥu*. Cf. also Yaḥlu. *-rūḥu* (miser).
ruḥu, B *ruḥu* 'day'. L. *rūḥi*, K. *rūḥi*.

R.

* *ruḥ* 'smoke-hole, *ruḥ* < **ruḥ* (cf. *ruḥ*) with metathesis from Waz. *ruḥ*?

ruḥu 'to bathe', *ruḥu bu*. Waz. *ruḥu bu*?
ruḥ 'porridge (made of water and grain)'. Waz. *ruḥ* 'adhesive paste'.

S.

s : *synk* B 'to become'. *syn*, *sa*.
su m, *syē* (ḥi) L, B. *siḥ*, *ḥi* 'I'. L. *sa*, K. *sa*.
sa 'a sigh'. Psh.

sa, B *sa* 'too'. B *dyō sa* 'too'.
sabā B 'tomorrow'. Waz. *sabā*.
ṣaḥ, pl. *saḥ*, *saḥ* 'a kind of bird, *ṣaḥi*'. K *uā* 'a kind of partridge'.

saḥ, B *saḥ* 'saḥ'. K *saḥ*. Waz. *saḥ*.
saḥ B 'hare'. K *saḥ*.

saḥ B 'porcupine, *ḥaḥi*'. K.

* *saḥ* 'dung of cows'. L. *saḥ*.

saḥ B 'charcoal'. Waz. *saḥ*, pl. *saḥa*.

* *saḥ* B, pl. *saḥ* 'horn'. Cf. Waz. *saḥ*, Psh. *saḥ*, Wanechi Psh. *saḥ*. 'The Orn. word is poss. genuine, with *s* < *ś* < *sr* (Psh. *ś* = *ś* would not become *s* in Orn.); but the *r* is difficult to explain.

* *saḥ* (B) 'to be kindled'. *saḥu* 'to kindle (?)'. *a-ruḥu saḥu*.
 L. *saḥu*.

saḥ 'burnt brick'. Lhd. *saḥ*.

saḥ 'hicough'. Psh. *saḥu*.

saḥ 'hat'. Waz.

saḥ (B) 'a plain'.

saḥ (B) 'needle's eye, *saḥ*'. Waz.

saḥi 'lizard'. Waz. *saḥi*.

saḥ B 'to-day'. L. *saḥ*, K. *saḥ*.

* *saḥ* B 'needle'. L. *saḥ*.

* *saḥ* B 'blood'. L. *saḥ*.

saḥ 'small stream'. Waz. *saḥ*.

saḥ B '11'.

saḥ 'box'. Waz. *saḥ*.

* *saḥ*, B *saḥ* 'hip'. Psh. *saḥ* (Bangash *saḥ*). Poss. genuine, cf. S. v. *saḥ*.

saḥ, pl. *saḥ* 'hip'. K. - Psh. *saḥ*, Waz. *saḥ*.

saḥ 'spout'. Waz. *saḥ*.

saḥ, B *saḥ* 'white'. L. *saḥ*, K. *saḥ*.

saḥ B 'silver'. Waz. *saḥ*.

saḥ B. sg. and pl. 'house'.

saḥ, pl. *saḥ* 'dog'. K. *saḥ*.

šwals B '16'. L. *šāls*, K *šawes* (prob. misprint, with *waw* for lam in the Qawā'id-e Dargistāh).

šwāšān, B also *šwāšā* 'Go!'. L. *šāšān*, K *šwāšān*.

S.

š'ī B '3'. L. *šō*, K *š'ē*.

š'tānk 'sinking'. K.

š'āh 'grave'. *yūda* male *š'āh* 'yūda me *wētrā*'. L. *š'ir*: *š'āh*.

K *š'aw*: *š'iyāh*.

š'āh, pl. *š'āhī* B 'He'. K.

† *š'im* 'to descend'. *š'imū* *al bū* 'kuzēgūn', *az adl* *š'imūkūn*.

Connexion with Skr. *kram*- (*krahya*-) is improbable.

š'pād 'field-embankment'. K.

† *š'amād* 'threshing-floor, *darwād*', **xam-*, cf. Pers. *xīman*

'harvest, stack of corn', *xumū-gūh* 'threshing-floor', Mj. *xarūn* id., Kati *k'ēmātem* id., *kiam* 'to thresh', Khowar *krou-*

š'amad 'forgetting'. *š'amād-um* *syāh*. K.

š'in: *š'īyāh* 'to buy'. *š'imū* *yē bū*. L. *š'on*, K *š'ūr*.

š'ēs B also *š'is* '13'. L. *š'ēs*, K *š'ēs*.

š'isā B '30'. L. *š'isā*, K *š'isā*.

š'wajšū '23'.

š'aw 'to weep'. *š'awū bū*. L. *š'ā*, K *š'aw*.

T.

tā B 'of'. V. *tār*.

tā B 'paternal uncle, *tā'*. K *tā*. Prob. genuine Orm. Cf. *tā*.

† *tāu* 'steam'. Pers., or genuine?

tā B 'thou'.

† *tāf* 'sour, *tāw*'. < **tāf*- <? Cf. E.V.P. s. v. *tāw*, cf. Mj. *tāf* 35, and, poss., Russ. *trpkih* etc.

tāk 'mountain torrent'. K. Cf. E.V.P. s. v. *tār*, and Lidin, Stud.

z. tocharischen Sprachgesch. 35 ('Toch. *enke* 'river' < **tay*).

tāh 'hot'. K.

tāl 'to weigh'. *tālma bū* 'I weigh it'. Waz.

tālāt 'palm of the hand, *warphāt*'. Psh. *tālāt* 'sole'. Cf. *warphāt*.

tālū 'tank'. Waz. *tālo*

tānd 'wet (field, ground)'. Waz. *tānd* 'lamp, wet', Psh. *tānda* 'fresh, verdant'.

tāndūr 'thunder'. Waz.

tāng 'narrow'. Waz.

tāng 'grille'. Waz. *tāng*.

† *tāngdī* 'sheaf of maize tied together with palm-leaves'. Psh.

tāng 'band, brace'.

tāpī, B *tāpī* 'buttermilk, *šāntē*'. L. *tāpī*, K *tāpī*.

tā (B) 'to drink'. *az di būnak tām*, *az bū enwak trīm*

† *tā* B 'aunt, *tār*'. **tāyā*? K *tār* < Psh. Cf. *tā*.

tār v. *tā*.

tār 'threat'. Pers.

tār (B) 'passed'. *tār en* 'last year'. Waz.

tār (B) 'sword'. Waz. *tār*.

tārhar B 'paternal cousin'. Waz. *tārhar*.

tārba (B) 'father's sister's daughter'. Waz. *tārba*.

tārūk B, B pl. *tārūkī* 'dimisy'. *tārūk-tū*.

tārūp 'running'. *az bū tārūp būn*, *az bū tārūm*, *tārūm dāk*. Waz.

tārūr B 'father's, or mother's sister's son'. Waz. *tārūr*.

tārūt 'roof-beam'. Demin. from Waz. *tār* 'father'.

† *tārōšā* B 'darkness'. Borrowed from Psh. Cf. *tār* black, *tūrā* darkness, etc.; but the formation of the Orm. word is difficult to explain.

tārōmā 'moonless night'. Waz. *tārōmā*.

tār 'to him'. *tārīn bū*. Waz.

† *tās*, B *tās* 'spinning wheel'. < **tāsak* < **tāstikā*, cf. Psh. *tāšā*.

Mj. *tāsa* etc.

† *tāsāk* B 'space below the ribs'. K *tāsāk* empty, cf. Psh. *tāšā* 'flank,

hollow above the hip'.

tāš B 'bitter'. L. *tāš*, K *tāš*.

tāfī 'parrot'. Waz.

tāt 'mulberry'. Waz. *tāt*.

tāw, B *tāw* 'sunshine'. L. *tāw*, K *tāwā*.

tām B 'bread'. L, K.

tāwag B 'armpit'. Waz.

tā 'fant'. K, Psh.

T.

- tak* 'to beat, card'. *takem*. L. Waz. *takawol*.
tām 'nest'. Ind.
tiḡḡ 'hard'. *tiḡḡ-am dōrk* 'I tiel, fastened'. Waz.
tōp 'jump'. *tōp bu kēm*. Waz. *tōp*.
tōpiz 'hat'. Psht.
tiŋ 'low'. Waz. *tiŋ*. Cf. K *tiŋ* *nūn-ryāz* 'about 3.30 P. M'.
tux 'to cough'. *tuxam bu*. Cf.
tuxit 'cough'. *tuxit kēm*. Waz. *fixai m*.

U.

- uok* (*uok*) B 'water'. *a-uok* 'in the water', *in uok* *spok* 'otter'.
 L. *uok*, K *u^ok*.
uuldi 'blade, shoulder'. Waz. *uula*.
uwila B 'willow'. Waz. *uwit*.
uwilit B 'root'. Waz. *uwilyt*.
uwun 'co-wife'. K.

uwun B 'tree'. Waz. *uwun*.

uwūn'alin (not *uwūn'ok*) 'son of a co-wife, *banan'*'. Cf. *wun*.

† *uōr* 'guls, *brē*'. Cf. Av. *ndarar*, v. EYP. s. v. *barat*.

K *uwine* 'slave girl'. Psht. *uwijia*, which is not to be derived from
 **banadē* (v. EYP. s. v.), but from **banadē*.

uwui B 'ram, lamb'. Psht.

uwur: *uwyrak* B 'to take'. *uwurum-a ri bu* 'I take it, *ri w-ā-d-ē-xlan*',
uwyrāk-am-a ri 'yā w-ā wē xis', *pēri-ra b-wurum* 'I take it now',
wos yē ri-xlan, *a šiti ru bu wūwun* 'so dā šiti dēlanu';

B *az bu kiliŋ* *wurum*. L. *wur*, K *w'ur*.

uwrōdne (B) 'palm of the hand' (v. *talit*). Waz. *uwrōdne*.

writj B 'cloud'. Waz. *wryyz*.

wryjē (B) 'eyebrows'. Waz. *wryjēt*.

wryjē 'small, red louse'. Psht. *wryjā*.

wrykye *wrykye* 'slowly'. Waz. *wryt*.

wrandēr 'brother's wife'. Waz. *wandān*.

wraŋši, B *wraŋša* 'moustache', L. *amraŋši*, K *wraŋša*.

wryjēt 'guns'. Waz. *wrai t*.

- wōpŋr* 'late spring'. Waz. *wōpŋr*.
wēšō (B) 'large rafter'. Waz. *wēša*. Cf. *mawēši*.
wŋš m, pl. *wuŋši*, *wuŋš f*, pl. *wuŋšit* 'camel'. Waz. *yis*.
wŋšitē (B) 'thin bread'. Waz.
wok, B *wuŋŋok*, pl. *wuŋŋici* 'walnut'. K *wok*, Waz. *maŋak*.
wōw: *wok* 'to obtain'. *wōwam-a bu*. K *waw*: *wok*.
wuwenduni 'band that holds a sheaf together'. Waz.
wuxa 'to dig'. *wuxam-a bu*. K *wuxay*. < Av. **qpa-xad*.
wyok, B *yōk* 'dry'. L. *wōka*, K *wyāk*.
wz B 'goat'. Waz. *wza*.
wzēzi B 'shin-bone'. Waz. *wēzani*.
wzan (B) 'hide, skin'. Waz. *wēzm*.
wzan- (B) 'to kill'. *wzanum*. L. *nēzan*, K *wzan*. Cf. Waz. *wēzū*.
wēzai, B *wēzē* 'ear of corn (B) wheat'. Waz. *wēzani*.
wuŋcyu 'goat's wool'. Waz. *wuŋcyuwit*.

X.

- xāi* f, 'cultivated field'. K *xai*.
xabura (B) 'news'. Waz.
xūjura 'clave'. Waz. *xajira*.
 † *xak* B 'well, spring'. Av. *xan*, P's. *xā* 'sewer, sink'.
xāb B 'sweet'. Waz. *xēla*.
xōh 'cap'. Waz. *xēl*.
xālasa 'to release'. *xālasu-a bu*. Waz.
xamhāra 'leavened dough'. Waz. *xamira*.
xani 'laughter'. *xani kēm*. K.
 † *xar* (B) 'rafter'.
xar m, pl. *xri* 'ass'. Waz. *xar*.
xra f, 'she-ass'. Waz. *xra*.
xarīb 'bad'. Waz. *xarōp*.
xurēna, *xulēna* 'right (hand)'. K *xwarina*.
x'ānāk, B *x'ānāk*, pl. *x'ōnki* 'hungry'. L. *xrimak*, K *axwaranak*.
x'ānū, B *x'ānū* 'mill-gutter'. K *xiryānū*. Cf. Par. *x'era* 'water-mill' etc.?
 † *xurpāndū* 'squirrel'. Psht. *xarpāndū*.

† *xoxrānē* 'ladder'. Psh. *xoxrānē*.

xir 'brown'. Waz. *xir*.

xirfa 'to wink'. *a-ceni bu xirfāim*. K *xirfāim* 'to shake'.

xsir 'father-in-law'. K. V. *xōšāi*. Waz. *saxu*, *xwsur*.

† *xasān* 'meal-porridge, *kur*'.

xōšāi (B) 'father-in-law'. Secondary formation from *xōšāi*. V. *xsir*.

xwōšāi.

xšūnī, B *xšūnī* 'husband's sister'. Waz. *xšūn* 'wife's sister'.

xīšā B 'dried brick'. Waz. *xšān*.

xmī B 'self, own'. L. *xmī*, K *xmī*.

xwāb 'sleep, dream'. *xwāb yē b-jānūm*. K *xwān*.

xwān 'sister'. K.

xwōšāi, B *xōšāi* 'mother-in-law'. Waz. *xwōšyē*.

xwōš, B *xwōš* 'sweet'. K *xwōš*, L *xwōš*.

xwōšān 'sweetness'. K *xwōšān*.

† *xāz* 'to rub'. *xāzān-a*, *xāzān*.

Y.

yā in: yā mēn *byē ryāz* 'four days hence'. Cf. Waz. *yā bəl sabō*

'the day after the day after to-morrow'.

yām, *hām* 'raw'. K *hām*, L *xām*.

yāb. B *yāb* 'ashes'. K *yām*.

yāsp, pl. *yāsp*, B *yāsp* 'horse'. L. *yāsp*, K *yāsp*.

yās, B *yāz* m. 'bear'. K *hys*, L. *xys*. *yāz* is hort. from Psh.

The irregular preservation of *r* in *yās* is perhaps due to the influence of Prs. *xys*.

yēscak, pl. *yēscā* B 'year'. K pl. *hennē*. Prob. *yēscak* < **aswāi* +

secondary *ak*.

† *yēš* 'entrails, guts'. < **andrya*. Skr. *andri*.

yūwā B 'plough'. Waz. *yūwā*.

yax B 'ice'. Prs.

yāz B f. 'she-bear'. Waz. *yāz*. V. *yās*.

Z.

z- 'to arrive'. *az-zi*. L. *zāy*, K *z*.

za- *zēk* 'to ask for'. *az di b-ē zām*, *az di zēk-a*. L. *zāy*, K *zay*.

zā 'pus, matter'. Waz. *zān*.

zān (B) 'tongue'. K.

**zshā* B, *zshā* 'span'. L. *zshā* < **zshā*, Av. *zshā*. Cf. p. 118.

zyu (B) 'annoy'. Waz. *zyra*.

zā B 'heart'. K.

zā B 'old'. K.

zāk (B) 'kidney'(?). Cf. *zā*, and *zāk*.

zāzā 'anthquake'. Waz. *zāzā*.

zān (B) 'grandmother'. V. *zā*

zāp (B) 'grandfather'. K. < V. *zā*.

zān B 'son-in-law, *zān*'. Waz. *zān*.

zān B 'jaw'. *zān* *zān* *zān*. K *zān*. Waz. *zān*.

**zān*, B. *zān* 'winter'. L. *zān*.

zā B 'bowstring'. Psh.

zān B 'chin'. Waz. *zān*.

zān, B *zān* 'saddle'. Waz. *zān*. Cf. *zān*. Gram. § 31.

zān 'crane'. Waz. *zān*.

zān, B *zān* 'small'.

zān, *zān* (B) 'on'. *az bu a-kān a nēz zān m-ān*. L. *zān*, K *zān*.

zān 'too'. V. B *zān*. K *zān*. Prob. genuine.

zān 'participle, *zān*'. K *zān*. Cf. *zān*. S. V. *zān*.

zān B 'yellow'. Waz.

zān, pl. *zān* 'thorn'. L. *zān*, K *zān*.

Z.

zān (B) 'to leave'. *zān* *zān*, *zān* *zān*. L. *zān*.

zān, K *zān* *zān*.

zān 'shouting'. *zān* *zān*. Waz. *zān*.

zān B 'nail'. Waz. *zān*.

† *zān* 'cluster of grapes'. Psh.

‘PASHTO’, ‘PATHAN’,
AND THE TREATMENT OF *R* + SIBILANT
IN PASHTO

In a letter dated 7. October 1937 Dr. Paul Tedesco mentioned to me that already before the publication of my ‘Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto’ (1927) he had, in a work on the ‘Dialectal Position of Ōrmaṛī’ — which has unfortunately remained unpublished — drawn attention to not only the transition of *rs* into *ʒd* in Pashto,¹ but also the parallel change of *rs* into *ʒt*, which had not been recognized by me. As Dr. Tedesco’s present address is unknown to me, I have taken the liberty to mention this discovery of his without getting his express permission to do so.

When I received Tedesco’s letter, I had already arrived at the same conclusion as he, but several years after him. The examples given by Tedesco were: 1) *puʒtədal*, Wāziri *puʒtal* ‘to ask’: P’s. *puʒtədan*. This derivation is more satisfactory than the one given by Geiger² and in BVP,³ from a noun **puʒti*. Besides, *pu* results in P’sht. *ʒ*, v. BVP,⁴ p. 42. Cf. also *puʒtəna* ‘question’ < **puʒanā* (cf. Skt. *pytana* ‘flight’, &c.). 2) *tuʒtədal* (also *tʒd*) ‘to flee’: P’s. *tuʒtədan* ‘to fear’. — In this case, too, Geiger and BVP⁵ had proposed a denominative derivation from Av. *tuʒiti* ‘flight’. But Wāziri *tuʒitā* < **tuʒanā*: *taʒ* ‘fled’ < **tuʒta*⁶ with its highly irregular *t* in

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the present stem, but not in the preterite,¹ shows that we have to do with a purely phonetical development. 3) *wəʒtə* ‘hair’: Sogd. *wrs*, Av. *warasa*. — P’sht. *w* possibly points to a derivation from **warasa*. 4) *puʒtəi* ‘rib’: Saka *pāṣua*, cf. Av. *parastu*. This derivation is more satisfactory than Darmstadter’s from Av. *parasti* ‘back’, or Geiger’s from a supposed Av. **parsti* = Skt. *pyṣṭi* ‘rib’.

5) Less probable is Tedesco’s suggestion that *ʒpiʒtai* ‘spoke’ might perhaps be a ‘Wāziri’ form for **ʒpiʒtai*, cf. Saka *pāṣua* also ‘spoke’ (*gəra-nāṣua* ‘having thousand spokes’). Apart from the fact that Kaverly and Bellow, our only sources for the P’sht. word, both have *ʒt*, the initial *ʒp* renders a derivation from **prsu* unlikely. *ʒpiʒtai*, with assimilation < **ʒpiʒtai*, might go back to **ʒpiʒta-ka*, cf. Middle Low German *speisse* ‘long spear’, < **spoid-ān*? German *Spieß*, &c. 6) Very uncertain is also *speʒta* ‘peritonium’: Av. *sparzun* ‘spleen’, with irregular *ʒt* instead of *ʒd*. Cf. possibly Skt. *sparsin* ‘touching’?

At any rate Tedesco’s rule seems to be firmly established, and other instances may be given. Thus: *yōʒt* ‘millet’ (‘ancum italicum’): P’s. *gūwərs(ə)*, Yidgha *yawərsə* (q. v.); *buʒtədal* ‘to stick, cling’: *luʒtəna* ‘hog’ < **həm-prs*, cf. Skt. *pyṣṭana* ‘clinging to’, *kōṣṭa* ‘matted, entangled hair’ < **ku-darsa*, Yd.-Mj. *hws*, *hws* ‘goat’s hair’ < **harsa*, not **darsa*, cf. Sindhi *dās* id.; + pejorative prefix *ku* (as in *kuwəy* ‘faded’: Saka *maw* ‘to fade’).

The only instance of Ir. *rs* corresponding to P’sht. *ʒ* is *wəʒai* ‘hungry’: P’s. *yurs*, &c. But in this word *rs* has been changed into *ʒ* through the influence of *toʒai* ‘thirsty’ < **trs*. Cf. the parallel development in Yidgha *tonʒigo*.⁵

¹ But *puʒtal* has received the regular *t* in the past stem: *mo wə-puʒta* ‘I inquired’.

² Waike-Pokorny II, p. 65b.

³ Covered by the peritonium; Teht. — P’sht. *tərai* ‘spleen’ (‘the black one’)

is a secondary name, cf. semantically, e.g., Torwali *kəm*, Pashai *kəni*.

⁴ Mohammed Göl, Nishman, Paṣṭō Sind, Kabul, 1916.

⁵ Indo-Ir. Front. Launguyen II, p. 82.

¹ Cf. BVP, p. 42

² Etymologie und Lautlehre des Afghanistanisch, p. 19.

³ For *ʒ* < *ps*, v. below.

Psh. *št* does also represent ancient **rs*, e.g., in *calceš* '40'; *yaštal* 'to twist' < **gar* + *ta*.

Words of uncertain etymology containing *št* are:

caštan 'master, husband'; Afr. *šaxtan*, Khushhal Khan *teštan*, Klhair-ul-Bayan, Orm. L.V. *taštan*, Waz. *taštan*, &c.¹ — Acc. to Andreas = *Caštana*, the name of the renowned Ksatrapa king in V. India. — The suffix *-anu* is known from other IE. words denoting a 'chief', 'leader', Gothic *þiudans* 'king', Greek *κοίρανος*, &c. The stem must be Ir. **čars*(t)- or, possibly, **čarš*-. But I can suggest no plausible etymology.

čurnuštan 'lizard' (Pers. *šiland*), acc. to Pšl. Sind. — 'Possibly 'greedy for worms', < **kṛmi*- 'worm, insect' and **ṛṣṇa*-ka 'hungry', with regular treatment of *ṛ* (cf. *wašai* above)?

lowašiti, *ṛṛušti*, *warrašiti* 'almond' (Pšl. Sind). — Possibly *lowašiti*, *ṛṛušti* < **(gar)*-*ānura*-, but etymology unknown.

wašajal 'to wring, squeeze'; Waz. *ništal*, *nišžat*; Pšl. Sind *wažtal*, *ažtal*. — Possibly **niš-vačaga*-, cf. Pers. *rextan* 'to pour out', Bal. *princag* (**pati-rinč*) 'to squeeze out'?

waštal 'shuttle' (Pšl. Sind). — Derivation from **us-warstaka* from **mar*-'to turn' is a mere phonetical possibility.

rišigā, *rišigā* 'truth', &c. — Cf. MVP, s. v. *rišimni*.

lašā 'rod, stick'. — Borrowed from a Dard form corresponding to Panj. *laṣṣā* 'stick'. V. EVP, s. v.

rowaštan 'hot ashes, cinder'. — Possibly < **us-warstana*-, cf. Lith. *sušlū* 'to burn without a flame', Lett. *švelne* 'glow', &c.

wašle 'hill rice', sg. *wašla*. — Derivation from **warsta*- (**warst*- 'to grow') is devoid of value.

wa/ušta 'joke, jest'.

¹ Pāšō Sind distinguishes between *caštan* 'husband' and *caštan* 'master', but these may be dialect variants.

The treatment of *r* + sibilant in Psh. may be summarized in the following way:

rš, *sr*, *šr*, *str*, *štr* result in *š*: *lšai* 'left, dropped' < **hṛšlaka*;
āšā 'loan'; *našajal*, *aš* 'to squeeze' < *niš-vač*-(?); *waš* 'grass' < *waštra*; *āš* 'caneel'.

rs, *rs* (and *ašt*?) result in *ṛ*.

š, *rs*, *rs* (?) result in *ž*: *ṛwaž* 'ear'; *yaž* 'bear'; *warmaž* 'neck' < Av. *-mowza*;
awž 'sweet' < **ziwarza*.

rz usually results in *žd*: *ždan* 'millet': Pers. *arzan*, *ždan* 'I place, leave' < **hṛždmi*.

The remarkable transition of *rs* > **rs* and of *rz* > **rz* must be due to a differential oxyanion of the dental element in the consonant groups, in order to avoid assimilation and coalescing with original *rs*, *rz*. At a later date *rs*, *rz* could not, however, resist the general tendency towards assimilation of all groups with *r*, and changed into **rs*, **rz*, from which *žd*, *žd*. At that time ancient *st* had already moved towards *t* (in *ata* '8', &c.), and *rs* had lost its dental occlusion, merging with ancient *sr* and *str* into **ss* > *ž*. This secondary *ž* was kept apart from original intervocalic *ž*, which had early been sonorized into *ž* > *ž*. Also *rs* was sonorized into *rs* (retained in the W'andisi dialect, e.g., in *ṛiṛ* 'bear'), from which *ž*. I am unable to explain why *rz* in some words results in *žd*, in others apparently in *ž* (Wan. *rz*). Cf., however, the possibly parallel development in Sanglechi: *waždā* 'long' (Psh. *ažd*) < *byzat* (or *hṛz*)(*lu*-ka?) ; *waždā* 'millet'; Pers. *arzan* (possibly, however, *-zan* > *ždn*); but *awžok* 'sweet'; *pež* 'to wrap' < **patiwarz*.

There is one group of Psh. words with *št* which have not been dealt with above, but which are of special interest.

The name of the language of the Afghans, *Pāšō* [1, and the word *Pāšōn*, pl. *Pāšōn* 'Pattian' have been discussed EVP, p. 61. The old comparison with *Hixareg* is here rejected, chiefly on pho-

¹ EVP, I, p. 320.

² Also *Pāšō*, *Pāšō*.

netical grounds.¹ The derivation suggested, from Av. *puršta-* 'back', Skt. *pr̥sthā-* 'top, height', ascribing to *Paštān* the meaning 'Hill-man', or 'prominent', must be dismissed because, as we have seen, *pr̥st* results in Psh. *š*, not *št*. According to Raverly?² *ṛṣṣ*, *ṛṣṣ(c)* is the name of 'the supposed seat of the Afghan tribe in the Waziri country', but the forms without *t* may easily be secondary.

Already Marguerit³ mentions the possibility of connecting *Paštā*, *Paštān* with *Παγουστια*, *Παγουστια* (**Παγουστια*?), the name of a tribe, which, according to Ptolemy, lived in the country of the Parnisadae. But it is impossible to identify the *τ* in this word with the dental stop in *Paštān*, -*tau* being a common suffix in tribal names.

Tedesco, in his letter, compares the name of the Persians, *Pārsā*, and he draws attention to some special resemblances which he is inclined to believe exists between Persian and Fashto. I have not been able to detect any such isoglosses of any importance, and the one instance adduced by Tedesco, viz. the parallel development of *štr* in O. Pers. *ušā*, Psh. *uš* 'canal', must be considered in connexion with the treatment of such groups in other E. Ir. dialects. But, even if there is no special linguistic connexion between Pashto and Persian, the tribal names may, of course, be related. Parallels might easily be adduced from other Indo-European peoples of the same name denoting widely scattered tribes.

Tedesco has certainly not intended to regard the elements *pušt-* and *paša-* as absolutely identical. As remarked by Herzfeld⁴ *Pārsā* is probably a vriddhi form derived from an older **pušra-* and connected with the name *Pārsē(a)*, which in Assyrian and Babylonian texts denotes the Persians.

The identification is, however, rendered still more probable by the fact that we find *Παγόριον* as the name of an East Iranian tribe.⁵

¹ Similarly Marguerit, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Persien*, 2, p. 177.

² Dictionary of the Pukhto, &c., new ed., p. 1113.

³ Loc. cit.

⁴ *Altperische Inschriften*, p. 94 n.

⁵ E. G. in Ptolomy. V. Marguerit, op. cit., p. 178.

Tarn, in his important work on 'The Greeks in Bactria and India' has dealt at length with this people.¹ He thinks it probable that they are identical with the Pashani who took part in the conquest of the Bactrian kingdom together with Asii, Tochari and Sacarauli, that they originally came from Khwarizm, advanced together with the Sakas to Seistan, but branched off towards Arachosia, Ghazni and Kabul, where they founded a kingdom soon after 100 B.C.

It is not on account of the name necessary to believe, with Tarn, that the Parsii 'doubtless spoke a form of Persian', and not a dialect related to Saka, but, apart from this, his account of the Parsii fits in very well with what we know about the early history of the Afghans. Their original home extended from Arachosia and the Hindukush to the Sulaiman Mountains and to Ghazni-Kabul. They must certainly always have been an important people, and their language is most closely related on the one hand with Saka, on the other with Munji-Yidgha, a dialect which at one time went further north and west in Badakhsan.² If, as supposed by Tarn, *Špatāhōra*, *Špatagadama* and *Špatirisi* were kings of the Parsii, *špatā-*, which must undoubtedly represent Ir. *spāda-* 'army', would belong to a dialect having *l* < *ḍ*, and the only language south of the Hindukush presenting this peculiarity is Fashto.³ Perhaps also Psh. *mēān* (Palola L.V. *mēān*) 'hand-mill' < **mēkani*, which must have been borrowed from (Greek *μύαρος*;⁴ but is not found in any other Ir. language, may have been taken over from the Greeks of Kabul. Phonetically *Paštō* would go back to **pušrauit*, a fem. adjective: 'the Parsu' (sc. language). The primary stem *Parsu* is preserved in *Pašt*, and *Paštān* is derived from **Pars(u)wāna*, cf. *Pashani* and other ethnic names in -*āna*. The change of *us* > *št* must be relatively early, since a transitional form **Paštān*, *ōān* has been introduced

¹ Pp. 281, 292 sqq., 302, &c.

² V. III¹, II, pp. 7, 95.

³ *Špatirisi* 'Army-destroyer', cf. Av. *rašt-* 'to injure, hurt'?

**Spātaka-dama* 'dominating the army'?

⁴ Cf. Latin *machina*, id., *Albanian* L.V. *mōkete*, V. A(1) 7, p. 200.

into Indian border-dialects of an archaic type in the form **Pas/āna*, from which modern Indo-Aryan *Pāṭhān*.

According to Paṇini, V, 3, 117 *Parśu* is the name of a warrior tribe, probably in the North-West, and its leader is called *Pārśava*.¹ And in Varth. Br. Samh. 14, 18 *Par(a)śava* is the name of a tribe south-west of Madhyadeśa. It is possible that we have to do here with the same tribal name.² But if this tribe was settled on the borders of India already in Paṇini's time, it cannot be identical with the invaders from the North of Iran dealt with above. Tarn³ thinks that the *Parśus* may have been kinsfolk of the *Parsii*, 'a deposit from one of the earlier invasions', and this is perhaps possible.

¹ Cf. also Paṇ., IV, 1, 177, Varth. 2.

² Albrecht, *India*, Sachau's transl. I, 302 identifies *Pārśava* with the Persians.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 239.

THE STORY OF AN AFRIDI SERPENT

The dialects of Pashto are only very imperfectly known, and few specimens of texts have been published. Apart from the material given in the ISI., the only dialect texts known to me are MARXON's, 'Some Current Pashan Folk Stories'¹ and HOWARD's short 'Border Ballads of the North West Frontier'². The Bannu ballad and riddle, supplied by THORNTON and printed by DAMASTERTER³, contain very few true dialect forms, and the Wanetsi tales which I have published⁴, belong to a dialect which stands apart from the ordinary Pashko type.

Among these texts the important dialect of the Afridis is represented only by a translation of the Parable and a quite short story in the ISI., — neither of them very correct —, and by the four tales published by MARXON. Unfortunately the Persian script which he employs, very effectively conceals most of the important characteristics of the dialect.

In a volume dedicated to a scholar whose contributions to the historical study of Pashko have been of such outstanding value, the publication of a specimen of the Afridi dialect may therefore, perhaps, not be out of place. Apart from its linguistic interest the present text will, it is hoped, give a picture of the life of a young Afridi under varying circumstances.

That is the reason why I have chosen this story, although it was taken down at an early date of my first stay in Peshawar, where I was making linguistic investigations on behalf of the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture. My knowledge of spoken Pashko and its dialects was at that time very limited, and details, especially as regards the pronunciation of vowels, may easily have

¹ MASH. III, 6.

² JRAS., 1907.

³ 'Finnish population des Afghans. Appendice.

⁴ Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap, IV, 170 sqq.

escaped my notice. I have, however, preserved the original notation, even when it is inconsistent.

The narrator, Akbar Shah, a Kambar Khel Afridi from the village Wuli Khel in Tirah, stayed in winter as a labourer in Peshawar, and in a few cases¹⁾ his language shows traces of Peshawari influence.

The Afridi dialect belongs, as is well known, to the North-Eastern, or 'hard' Pashto, which changes *g* and *z* into *x* and *g*. Within this group it is more closely connected with the Bangash and Orakzai dialects, than with those of the Yusufzai-Mohmand type, or with north-eastern Ghilzai.

But it is far from being uniform, the dialect of each clan presenting special features. The Adam Khels in the hills between Peshawar and Kohat do not speak a true Afridi dialect, and the same seems to be the case with the Kuki Khels near Fort Jamrud.

Among the clans of Tirah the Zakhia Khels, owing to their geographical position, are more exposed to influence from outside than the Mulidin (*Mulidin*) and Kambar Khels, whose dialects are nearly identical.

I shall mention here a few characteristic features only of the Afridi dialects.

Corresponding to ordinary Psh. 'ā' the Afridis (with exception of at least some Adam and Kuki Khels) pronounce a rounded, long sound, noted here ā²⁾. A similar sound is found among (Dankzais, Bangashes, and many Khataks; while among the Banuchis and Wazirs it has been narrowed into *ō*.

In all these dialects, however, ordinary Psh. 'ā', and 'ō' are kept apart. Waziris and Banuchis palatalize the 'ā' into *ā̃*, or even dephthalize it into *ē*, and among the Bangashes it has been narrowed into *ō̃*. In the typical Afridi dialects of the Kambar and Mulidin Khels the sound corresponding to 'ā' is a mixed, rather high, and not very strongly labialized *ā̃*. In a few words³⁾ I noted *ā̃*, and the old pl. in 'ā' was frequently shortened into *ō*, and not becoming *ō̃*.

The Waziri and Banuchi development of 'ā' into *ē* (cf. *ō̃* > *ē̃*) is not found in Afridi⁴⁾. But the lengthening of 'ā' to *ā̃* (ā̃s '10'), and the appearance of *ē* for 'ā' (*Spēg* '6') are common, although the conditions determining these changes have not been found out.

¹⁾ E. g. once *zmā* „my", for (*d*)*emā*.

²⁾ But after *y* the *ā* is preserved: *iyār* „round".

³⁾ *Zakār*, *kōfā*, loanwords?

⁴⁾ Perhaps Afr. *ā* is pronounced slightly in front of Peshawari *ā̃*, with *ū* (< *u*/*u*-) „slight" is a special case.

It is of interest to note that the tribes whose dialects exhibit these vowel changes, are identical with those which, according to Afghan tradition, are descended from Ghughush and Kurān, not from Kais Abdur-Rashid, the ancestor of Durranis, Ghilzais, Kakars, Tarins, Yusufzais, Mohmands etc.

In these „Ghughush-Kurān" dialects, which occupy a continuous area in the southern part of the North West Frontier Province, we also find a tendency to develop *e* or *ae* between a velar consonant and a labialized, velar vowel¹⁾. And in the same dialects the termination of the 2nd pl. is 'ō²⁾. (E. g. Afr. *yā* „you are"), not 'āi.

Finally I shall mention the Afridi forms -*am* (= *mā*), enclitic pronoun 1st pl., and the pronominal adverb 1st sg. *ar* (*arā* „to me"). But with verbs we find *rā* (ort. Psh. *rā*), e. g. *vāram* „I bring"³⁾.

1. Pa Prahā *ē* wun pa san *ē*wāla (manus sawa cwarlas) *kē*, *mug* *pa lām lāf wā*. *Zā ē* *mā*⁴⁾ *la wu-ē*lām, *na pa aya bāndē mā pa kē* *yon kāl jagrē wu-krahā*. *ŋ'e* *hāl kāl riyāi*, *san pūnā kē zmā pā* *mā* *ē* *ke xarīpē āwālē*. *Pā kē yāx wu pa āhā kē*, *na dāpē pūē mē xarīpē āwālē*.

2. Na *emā* *kanēl sūhāb mā* *la u-wayel ēē*; *ŋ'a* *aspōdā* *la hīr sā* *ŋ'a* *mā wēta u-wayel ēē*; *Zā āz* *kam ēē za* *hōlōd dā mārē* *na na dēmūn aspōdā* *la*. *Wō za ē* *er xwāšāl yim pa wārē* *ke*.

3. No *mā* *dīē kālā jagrē pa kē wu krahā*. *Pā aya bāndē kanēl sūhāb* *ŋ'h* *pūnā* *pūnā* *(tawān)* *krahā*. *Nā pa dē salmā* *ke kanēl sūhāb* *yon āz* *u-ŋ'o* *(arā u-krahā)* *ēē*; *ŋ'h* *se* *pūnā* *ŋ'ā* *dā*, *ēē pa dē mārē* *bāndē*.

1. When I was in France in the year '14 (1914), we had gone to war. When I arrived in the trenches, I fought there for one year. When the next year came, in '15, my feet got bad in the trenches. It was cold there in the water, and my feet got bad.

2. Then my colonel said to me that I should go to the hospital. But I answered, „I beg to state that I do not at all want to go to hospital from the trenches. I feel very happy in the trenches."

3. Then I fought there for three years. On one occasion the colonel paraded the whole regiment. And he said to me: „Are⁵⁾ there any (such)

¹⁾ Afr. *gwāl* „flower", *kudā* *la* „to the house".

²⁾ The distribution of the forms in -*ae* does not concern us here.

³⁾ Ordinary Psh. *rāram*, with *r* from the preterite.

⁴⁾ First: *wārē*.

⁵⁾ *ā* *dā* *is* frequently used as a plural.

you amblā wu-ki po xpuḷo xuḡḡane ara?" Na mī wērtā u-weyel ēē: „Sāb, you xu zo yin.“ O you Gulbār namu you doxwudār wu, ara wu-wēl ēē: „You bo zo dūmām dō amblā dopirū.“

4. You sāb wu, ēē ara Gargrī sāb, wu; ara wu-wēl ēē: „Za-u dūmām, yonō mōrtē nā dūmām dārxās bānde.“ Pa dē ke mug yo pinjās kasā aḡiñ brībār āwālā.

5. Na mugā po ara mōrtē ke amblā wu-krōlā pa dūmāmūnāno bānde. Ay zol ke mug ēē amblā wu-krōlā, dē ay zol māmū lēlān. Na mī la sāb wu-wēl ēē: „Ūa wānde laḡ sū kolāḡ wāxla.“ Na zo ēē laḡlām, pa ay zol ke ēē wēryalam, nā dūmāmūnān aḡiñ nāst wū pa mōrtē ke. Na po dē ke dāromūnān¹⁾ wār bal krai wu.

6. Na zo wērtā yuhāi āwalam. Mī latal ēē pa ēāzōz ke ēū paxawūl. Na zo postana rūylalam, pōl pōl. Ne mī Gargrī sāhāb la wu-wayal ēē: „Co aḡiñ wīdō āwī dī o you āḡēg²⁾ kasā aḡiñ pa mōrtē mīst-i, ēū paxawī.“ Na Gargrī sāb dēr xwāḡi ā.

7. Na mī wērtā wu-weyel ēē: „Wān dō amblā wāxḡ dāi, wēlō ēē zān aḡiñ wīdō dī ou zān aḡiñ po mōrtē ke mīst wī, ēū paxawī.“ Wo ortā ō wu-wayal ēē: „Ūayār ā, wo ywa amblā he kawā.“

soldiers who will volunteer to attack this trench?" I answered: „Sāhīb, I for one am willing.“ And there was a daḡadār²⁾ (Gurumārāb by name, who said: „I will take part in the attack.“

4. There was an officer whose name was Ginevory Sāhīb. He said: „I, too, will go; that is, I volunteer for the attack on the trench.“ In this manner we got ready some fifty men.

5. Then we made an attack on the Germans in that trench. And the name of the place where we made the attack was Bēlūne. Then the sāhīb said to me: „Go ahead, and reconnoiter.“ Now, when I went, and came to that place, the German soldiers were sitting in the trench. And they had made a fire there.

6. When I had gone there, I saw that they were boiling tea in a kettle. Then I came back, stealthily. I reported to Ginevory Sāhīb that some soldiers were asleep, and some six soldiers were sitting in the trench, boiling tea. And Ginevory Sāhīb was very pleased.

7. I said to him: „Now is the time for attacking, because some of the soldiers are asleep, and some are sitting in the trench, boiling tea.“ And he said to me: „Make ready, and let us make an attack.“

¹⁾ *latal*: and? Always *dāromūnān*, not *dān*.

²⁾ A cavalry non-commissioned officer. Note the substitution of *zw* for the foreign sound *z*.

8. Na po dē ke ēē po bānde wēr-am amblā wu-krōlā, nā dā ayo dāromūnāno sara yo aḡiñ wu ēē ara aḡiñ wā-pōrtēlō. Na mug po xpuḷ zye ke xyaḡ wu-ko ēē: „Awal dā spūi wūlū, o byā tē pas nā dāromūnān wūlū.“ Na ēē wār-kūz āwālā mōrtēlō, nā you dāromūnān tōpāk ortā r-w-axslo; nā mā wērtā wu-weyel ēē: „Mī dāz wu nākhū¹⁾!“. Wo ay ēē dūz ar-bānde wu-ko, nā dānd e dūwāz wūlō mīz wu-lāḡēlō, o ḡulā dērmā po xḡiḡa ke pīto āwālā.

9. Na mī la Gargrī Sāb wu-weyel ēē: „Ūa postana laḡ sū!“. O mī wērtā u-weyel ēē: „Za nā kām latalai, wēlō ēē za saxḡ zaxmī āwālā yam, wo xḡḡḡam.“ Na sāb mī la wu-weyel ēē: „Za he lū la dūa kasā aḡiñ dēr-kām. Na ara he lū pa sū kī, o lū he u-bosī.“ Na aḡiñ zo p¹⁾ sū kḡlām. Na ara sāhīb mī la dīwa kasā mīkhār rā-krōl, wo zo ē pa dūlō ke w-āḡawūlam.

10. Na po dē wāḡā bānde za Rūn aḡpōlāi la rūylalam. Na po Rūn aḡpōlāi ke you tūhīb sāhīb wu, ēē ay mī la u-weyel ēē: „Za he dē lū nā ḡulū u-bāsan.“ O mī wērtā u-weyel ēē: „ēē mī nā yē u-bāḡē, nā zar yo u-bāḡē.“

11. Na aḡiḡa ke yo bīḡi wā, ēē ara la yē zo yōwēlām. O po ara kō yo bīḡi wu ēē ara wu-wēl ēē: „Ūaya wāḡiḡai dēr kanzārāi āwāi dāi, o

8. And then, when we made the attack on them, these Germans had a dog, and that dog started barking. Then we thought in our hearts: „Let us first shoot this dog, and afterwards we can shoot the Germans.“ But when we came down into the trench, one German soldier aimed his rifle at me. I said to him: „Don't fire at me!“ But he fired at me and hit me between both shoulders, and the bullet stuck in my belly.

9. Then Ginevory Sāhīb told me to go back. But I said to him: „I cannot go, because I am badly wounded, and feel pain.“ Then he said to me: „I shall give you two soldiers, who can take you on their backs, and carry you away.“ Then the soldiers took me on their backs.

The sāhīb told off two soldiers to take me and put me on a stretcher. 10. Now for this reason I came to the hospital in Kouen. And in the hospital in Kouen there was a doctor sāhīb who said to me: „I shall take the bullet out of you.“ And I said to him: „If you are going to take it out of me, then do it quickly.“

11. In the hospital there was an X-ray apparatus²⁾, and he brought me there. And there was a luhū there who said: „This boy has be-

¹⁾ *pa* instead of *ma*.

²⁾ Literally: lightning, electricity.

ka wos yê pə gulā pə xēja wu-cirū, no dā bo mar ēi." No aya zai ko sūhibāns ari jorga wu-kerla. Tu jorga ko dā xahara wu-kerla ēe: „Dū epāi malik la wu-lagū, o ēe o dā pə xēja ke gulā wos prala dā, dā epāi ēe tandrašt ēi, no be biyā dā dā xēja bo wu-cirū."

12. Də epēg myēšēd aix-rəzō (ōñt) molā āwala. Nə zo kwāle la rāpōlam. Špēg myēšēd pəs pə kwālō kō lōrē lerafō, pə mweripul ke. Biyā pə watan ke mū la xalk u-wuyel ēe: „Sūhibāns tā mē gulā wēlō n'wu-basala?" Nə mū wēlō u-wuyel ēe: „Dā gulā damū pə xēja ke iāim šiwū nō wu. O wos amōd laram ēe emū pə xēja ke iāim āwala."

13. Nə pə watan ke you tabib wo ēe Sēd Gūl nām ye wo, ēe ɔy la xalk u-wuyel ēe: „Də dūy nē gulā pə xā sām s'ra u-būsa. O dā u-weyel ē: „Zō dā sarkār dāxman yim, wo dāy Akbur Šāh dā sarkār nukarī k'riye dū; zaka dūy Akbur Šāh mē gulā nō u-būsam."

14. Nə damū pīar ēe wu, malak wu, xalk dā u-wuyel ēe: „Damū zwī cō kasūr k'ni dāi, ēe dāse Sēd Gūl gulā nā u-būsi?" Xalk u-wuyel ēe: „Tā dā aya pēre sarkār kuwū, ēe mug wēl' s'ra jorga wu-kū."

15. Nə dūy xalk, dā mpinget wo s'rihādārū, dūy wēpōl Sēd Gūl la d' u-wēl ēe: „O malak zwī Akbur Šāh gulā wēlō nā bānē?" Nə ay

come very weak; and if we cut open his stomach now in order to find the bullet, he will die." Now in that place the sahibs took counsel together, and decided: „Let us send this soldier back to his own country, although (because?) the bullet still remains in his stomach. When he has recovered, we can operate on him."

12. I got six months' sick-leave, and came home. Afterwards I spent six months at home, in the hospital²⁾. In my country people asked me: „Why did not the sahibs extract the bullet from you?" I told them: „The bullet had not settled down in my stomach; but I hope that it may have done so by now."

13. In my country there was a doctor whose name was Sāb Gūl. And the people said to him: „Extract the bullet from him neatly." But he said: „I am an enemy of the Government, and this *Akbur Šāh* has served the Government. Therefore I will not extract the bullet from him."

14. My father, who was a headman, said to the people: „What fault has my son committed, that Sāb Gūl will not extract the bullet?" The people said: „He patient about this, we shall negotiate with him."

15. Then the people, greybeards and tribal officials, went to Sāb Gūl, and said to him: „Why don't you extract the bullet from Akbur

²⁾ dāi?

³⁾ mēripul was explained as mourning aspidot.

wēla u-weyel ēe: „Zā lāsō xalk la arz kawum, ēe dā sarkār nukar wī, dā mē sūp tabib za na kawum. O pə dā xaharē hānle sarkār damū dāxman dāi ēe damū pīar yō mar k'ni dāi. O dūy xalk la za bukam wēr kawum ēe dā sarkār nukarī mē kawū, o dā xalk damū xaharē mē māmī." Dūy jargēwālo xalk wēla u-wēl ēe: „Mug dē la s'wāl kawū ēe dā gulā u-būsa! Aya u-wēl ēe: „Mā pə Kōi an kasun k'ni dāi."

16. O pə dē xaharē kō ēe xalk tā na kapa rawūn āwāl, nā malak la ō u-wuyel ēe: „Zāga dē xwaxa dā?" Dāy wēla u-wuyel ēe: „Tāsō la za arz kum ēe dā dē ywa kōja dā dā tabib, wo d'wālas ywāyān dī, o calwēx m'nygē (pən) dī. Dā lāp sō, o aya kōja u-sezē, o aya myagē o ywāyān nāi kō, wēlō ēe mug dē nā damū āwālan kawū, wo dē s'wāl nā māmī."

17. Nə dūy jorga wēpōlā, nā kōja ke gōlō wēr nana-bosale, nā ayō xalk dāi wēlō u-lagawo. O kōlō la pə xā sām s'ra wēr wēr-ko. Wo pə dē kē xazē o wēkī rāpāl, o ɔyo wu-zafal. Dā tabib xazē wu-wē, ēe rāpā jūgē la, xalk la, wo wu-yō-zāpāl ēe: „Mug cō guā o kasūr k'ni dāi, ēe tāsō xalk damū kōja-sezē?" Mug xalk wēla u-weyel ēe:

Shall the headman's son?" He answered them: „I tell you people that I will not cure a man who serves the Government. And the reason why the Government is my enemy is that it has killed my father. I order these people not to serve the Government; but they do not obey my words." The people who took part in the council said to him: „We [only] ask you to extract the bullet from him." He said: „I have taken an oath on the Koran [not to do so]."

18. And people grew angry with him on account of these words, and went off. And they asked the headman what he wanted [them to do]. He said to them: „I tell you that he, the doctor, has a house, and twelve bulls, and forty sheep. Go to him, and burn his house and kill the sheep and bulls; because we have asked him so often, and he will not yield to our entreaties."

19. Then this jirga¹⁾ came to him, carried bundles of grass into the house, and put a match to it. And they set the house completely on fire. Then the women and children came out, weeping. And the doctor's wife approached the jirga and said to the people: „What sin or offense have we done, that you should burn my house?" Our people answered: „The reason why we burn the house is that he will not

¹⁾ council.

„Mug xalk pa dē xaharē hānde dā ko|a sēzā, ʔe o malok dā zwi na guḷā u-u-boeī. Na aya kōḷa omug xalka wu-swala.“

18. Dayo xazō po arzo ke wu-ko xalka la ʔe: „Dā ywāyān wo dā ywā dānug plāgānā rākrī dī, wo dā ywāyān wo ywā a tabib na dī. Wo po dē xaharē hānde omug dēta swā dī.“ O aya xalk[ō] aye jarga u-ḷeḷa, ʔe dā ywāyān be huyē xazō la wē-ḷā. Aya ywāyān om ayē xazō wē-ḷa.

19. Na po dē kē damā ʔuḷi pīra šwala. Na zo rawān šwalam ʔe dānug risatē dāpā po Sīnkōḷ ke wu. O po Sīnkōḷ ke ʔe wu-ḷeḷalam, dā aḷāyī po las huḷe bānde po dākrēt ke pēs šwalam. O kornēl aḷeb arla u-wēl ʔe: „Wā wōḷḷiya, aḷe guḷi caḷga dī, takit dēḷawī ke nā?“ O nā wēḷa u-wayel ʔe: „Guḷi nā la dēt aḷar takit rā hawī.“ O aḷ aḷb nā la u-weyel ʔe: „Tū! ʔe dēḷame jastana dā Lahōr dī, aḷotid la be tū zo jagan. O huyē be jastana dē Kalkula la gēzēgē. ʔa be aḷkar na hawī.“ O nā wēḷa arz wu-ko ʔe: „Ke nā Wolēḷa la huyē, nā zo be aḷar na hawū.“

20. Na zo ʔe wēḷayalam dā Lahōr aḷotid la, na nā la kornēl aḷeb ʔuḷi rā-krīyō wu. Mā aya ʔuḷi po Lahōr aḷotid ke wu-xayila, o nā exstret the bullet from the son of the headman. Therefore we have burnt²⁾ the house.“

18. These women entreated the people saying, „These bulls and these cows have been given us by our fathers³⁾, they do not belong to the tabib. And for that reason we ask you [to let us keep them]“ And the people decided to return the bulls to the woman. And we gave the bulls to the woman.

19. Now at that time my leave was over. And I went to Sīnkot where the depot of our regiment was. And when I arrived at Sīnkot, I appeared before the doctor the next day at ten o'clock. And the colonel said to me: „Well my lad, what about your bullet, does it give you pain, or not?“ I answered: „The bullet gives me very great pain.“ Then the said to me: „Go back again, I shall send you to the hospital in Lahore⁴⁾. And after that you shall go back (?) to Calcutta. You must not refuse.“ And I said to him: „Even if you send me to Europe, I shall not refuse.“

20. When I arrived at the Lahore Hospital the colonel said but given me a pass. I showed the pass in the Lahore Hospital, and

¹⁾ = *he, his*

²⁾ lit.: by our patrimony.

³⁾ *mu-sala* is really an intertextive.

⁴⁾ *Nā dā aḷotid* for *and de Kalkula* in

ʔernēl aḷeb la wu-xayila. O po dē ke ʔernēl aḷb u-wayel ʔe: „You sēzān wu-gorū¹⁾; o ay la yē zo u-xayilam. O pa biḷi ke biḷi ana po xāḷa bānde lāw yē u-ḷeḷa. O po dē kē sēzān aḷb mā la u-weyel ʔe: „Do pās Balōḷ palkana na you aḷalār Šerḷi Xīm um rāḷai wu, o pa dē kē aye aḷalār ʔe wu, pa xāḷa dā aye-m dāya guḷi pēḷa wu, wo dā ay na po zo šān sra mug guḷi u-basala. O dā tū na be-m guḷi po zo šān sra u-bosū.“

21. Na po dē kē dāwā rawān šwala, ʔernēl aḷeb la pēs šwala. [Sēzān u-weyel] ʔe: „Do day wḷḷi po xai palo tasi kē guḷi pēḷa dā.“ Na ʔernēl aḷb u-wēl ʔe: „O-ʔa ʔe day guḷi za tū na u-bosam.“ O po dē xaharē kē, ʔe rāḷalā, na nā la yē bḷal wu-niwū saḷge la, o zān la zo xahar na hawū, o dā xāḷa yū damā wu-ḷeḷa, o damā dā gēḷa na yū guḷi po zo šān sra u-basala.

22. Na huyē yū zo kāḷ la yōwalam, wēḷe ʔe po you aḷāyī po las baḷe zo beḷāḷa šawai wam, o bal aḷāyī po las huḷe hānde zān la xahar hawu-yam. O ʔernēl aḷb ʔe kāḷ la rāḷai, na nā la yē wu-wēl ʔe: „Wōḷḷiya, caḷge yē!“ Na nā wēḷa wu-wēl ʔe: „Sāb, dēra mīḷabānī dī, zo dēt jay yam, oḷra mā xugḷi.“ (ʔernēl aḷb arla u-wēl ʔe: „Za be

showed it to the general said. Then the general said to me that I should see a sergeant, and he showed me to him. And in the X-ray department they turned X-rays round in my belly. And then the sergeant said to me: „A havidar, named Sherif Khan, from a Balochi regiment had also (?) come here, and in his belly, too, a bullet had stuck, and we extracted the bullet from him neatly. And we shall extract the bullet neatly from you, too.“

21. Then both of us went off, and appeared before the general. The sergeant said: „This lad has got a bullet sticking in the right side under the ribs.“ The general said: „Come here, that I may extract the bullet from you.“ And when we came there after this conversation, he put a bottle to my nostrils, and I was not aware of anything. And he cut open my belly, and he extracted the bullet from my stomach all right. 22. Then they brought me back to my bed again, because I had become unconscious one morning at ten o'clock, and awoke the next morning at the same hour. And when the general said came to my bed he asked: „How are you, my lad?“ And I answered: „Sāb, you are very kind, I am all right, but my heart pains me.“ The general said to me: „I shall give you fresh water, and that water will

¹⁾ *ḷepāsa* = *the glass above, besides*!

xwage obâ dîr-kum; eti zra be da oyo obâ sara jâr hi." O p' dî kô mî wêrta u-wêl ée: "Dêr zar mî la obâ râ-wra!"

23. Nô aya zârni sâheb mîm la xaburu u-krâh, ée dlaya la zar obâ râ-wra. Iyô mîm mî la obâ râ-wrêl, o mî wu-coxalé, o mî mîm sâheb la wu-wayel ée: "Zô mîr no âwulam." Mîm sâh wu-wêl ée: "Zô be tî la sâwâ râ-wron." Sâwde-ye mî la râ-wrêl. I'o oyo sâwâ hânide jârâwî wu, no aya jârâwî pò kô dîr wu, o pò kô arta sâkuru âtâwuliyô wu. Nô mî ée wu-coxal, no emî gêtâ mîrâ âwula. O mîm sâh obâ u-weyel ée: "Nôr coxô?" Mî wêrta u-wêl ée: "Mîm sâh, dîrâ mîrâhîni dî, zo mîr âwulam." O mîm sâh wu-wêl ée: "Xa dî, to wâs wîdô sâ. O âr o jûmât o kûke mî walâ, pò arâin sara cômâ!"

24. Na pu dî kô cômâsâlom. O pa dî kô mî hânide ayo mîm sâh you zarûkni u-yîrîwâ (wîcawu), o pa sîr hânide yê you bôlaxt kô-xwâ. O pa dî kô zo wîdô âwulam. Ée wîdô âwulam, pò dî kô you éajîrâsîin rîyâi, dâkî. O aya wu-wêl ée: "Akbur Sâh éartu dîi?" Nô mîm aya éajî mîm âwula.

25. Nô emî yo sîk ar sara pò kûl kô jârê wu, oyo ée pòx lîkewîla wu. Aya éajî mî aya sîk la wêr-krôh, o mî ax sîk la u-weyel ée: "Éajî mî la pò mîrâhîni sara jârâ ka." O ax ée wu-katuh, jârâ kîola ax éajî.

do your heart good." And then I said to him: "Please bring me the water very quickly."

23. Then the general sahib called the men sahib¹⁾, and asked her to bring me water. And the men sahib brought me water, and I drank, and said to the men sahib: "I have not asked my thirst yet." Then she brought me milk. There was cream on the milk, much cream, and she had put sugar into it for me. When I drank, my stomach became satisfied. The men sahib asked me: "Do you want to drink more?" I answered her: "No thanks, men sahib, now I am satisfied." And the men sahib said: "That's good, now you must sleep. And don't shout or cry, but lie down quietly to sleep."

24. Then I lay down to sleep. And then the men sahib spread a blanket over me, and put a pillow under my head. And I felt asleep. When I woke a letter-carrier, a postman, arrived. And he asked: "Where is Agha Shau?" And I got the letter.

25. Now I had a Sikh lying near me in bed, and he was very good at writing. I gave the letter to the Sikh and asked him to be so kind and read the letter out to me. And looking at the letter he read it.

¹⁾ The nurse.

26. I'a éajî kô dî xaburê emî mîr o plâr lîkêlî wû (wê?), co: "Mîng dâwîr dîr xapu yî, ée to mîng la pò mîrâhîni sara xabar dîr pò jâlâ sra râ-wê-laga." O mî ax sîk la u-weyel ée: "Mî la ywa éajî u-lîka." Nô mî la yêdêrâ pu jâlâ sra ywa éajî u-lîkala. O mî wêrta u-wêl ée: "Mîr o plâr la u-lîka, ée zo pò Mîndelî aspatâl pò lahôr kô jârâ gam, o dîmî mî pò xô sâin sra sâbâno gult u-bîcêlye dî. O ywâ mînsê pas zo be mîndê laram ée zo be tîsô la dîr-sam."

27. Nô ée dîlta aya éajî rîyêla emî mîr o plâr la, na da ée xabar âwul, no pò jâl kâlî kô sra yê yar o dîsê la xabar wu-laga ée: "Dô mîng xwâsâla wa, ée da mîng zwi mî gult sâhê-bâna u-bîsêla."

28. Nô pa dî kô da mîng plâr dîmân râ-bâlêl, o dîmân la ô u-weyel ée: "Jîsô jâlâ wîzê kânîsâ wu-ka." O pa kâlî kô da mî plâr lafô, ée dîwî kârîma wû, ée ayo sara bîdî wu. Nô ayo la ô wu-wêl ée: "Zô tîsâ pò mînz kô zameyat kawum, wô kânîsê la rî-sâ."

29. J'a ayo sârê da ywa namî Purêl wu, o da bal nama Sîd Gwal wu. Ée rîyêl, kânîsê la kênîsêl. O da mî plâr wêrta mîâ paxa kîjêla, p' mîrê hânide yî kônâwal, wîzê o yarî o wîya yê wêra kô-xwâl.

29. In the letter my mother and father had written these words: "We both feel very sorry, and please send us news very quickly." And I said to the Sikh: "Write a letter for me." (And he wrote a letter for me very quickly.) And I said to him: "Write to my mother and father, that I am lying in the Military(?) Hospital in Lahore. And the sahibs have extracted the bullet from me all right. And I hope to come to you in a month."

27. When the letter arrived here (i), at my mother's and father's house and when they got the news, they sent a message to their friends and acquaintances all over the village: "We are happy because the sahibs have extracted the bullet from our son."

28. Then my father summoned the doms²⁾, and told them to make a feast the whole day. And my father went out into the village, where there were two houses with which he had a feud. And he said to them: "I grant you safety, come to the feast."

29. The name of one of these men was Purtil, and that of the other was Shaidîl. When they came, they sat down to the feast. And my father cooked food for them, and made them sit down to the food, and placed before them rice and ghee and eggs. When they had eaten,

¹⁾ It seems possible that *Mîndelî* is derived, with two changes of dissimilation, from *Mîndelî*. ²⁾ *Mîndelî* - *Mîndelî*.

Če mra-i u-xwayla, no droyš awš, wo da kəli xalkə jəla dawə wə-kra-la.
Jəy Purləl u-weyel čə: „Dəse dawə wu-kə, čə dny do malək zwai po
xər o xerəyt aw rī-šl xpol watan la.“

30. Jə də kə dnyš xalkə u-weyel čə: „Do la zwai . . . do mug do
žamə o da manžolas dər kār pə bānde irān šəwai dət, pə kama wəža aw
čə dāi dala nišla dāi. Jə də wəža čə armošā be dala zwai do mug
aw po uže kə nāst wu, o gariš o mo-xola be yē kawula.“

these men and the village-people all of them invoked the blessings.
And Purlil said: „Make this prayer, that the son of the headman may
return sound and well to his country.“

30. Thereupon the people said: „As for your son, in our assemblies
and parties many affairs have become spoilt on account of him, for
the reason that he is not here any more¹). The reason is that [your]
son always used to sit with us in the guest-house, taking part in
deliberations and conversations.“

¹ I have translated this unorthodox sentence as literally as possible.

THE WANEYSI DIALECT OF PASHTO

From the very extensive territory to the south and west of Waziristan where 'soft' Pashto is spoken, the Linguistic Survey of India gives specimens only of what is called the 'Pishin and Kandahar dialect'. Vol. X, p. 112, however, some remarks are quoted from Mr. (now Sir) Denys Hay's 'Report on the Census of Baluchistan for 1911', giving a few instances of quite important dialectical variations among the Kakars, Tatinis, Sherānis, and other Pathan tribes of Northern Baluchistan. Summing up, Sir Denys says: "These are of course but a few local dialects gathered from the hunch — just enough to show that grubbing into the Pashto dialects of Baluchistan would not be labour lost."

The materials which I collected during a short visit to Baluchistan in 1929, on behalf of the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, fully bear out this remark.

In the subdialects we find varying treatments of initial groups of consonants. E. g. *adast*, *uadast*, *huast*, *hwast*, *hwast* 'a span', *mun*, *gmun*, *huar*, *mīr* 'son', *munasai*, *gmunasai*, *n'inasai*, *hinasai*, *junasai*, *gwasai* 'grandson'. The Sherānis, and several Kikar clans, still pronounce the *w* in *wast*, *śat* etc. '20': Standard Pasht., and all dialects recorded till now, *śat* etc. Many Kikars pronounce *jūncast* '50', either < Av. *panāśadan* (Stanl. Psht. *panjās*, *pinjās*, cf. Sikt. *panāśat*-), or, less probably, formed on the analogy of *cahwēš*, *cahwēšt* '40'. Regarding *nday* 'went away' v. below p. 191.

¹ This form definitely disproves the derivation of *śat*, *śid* < Av. *śda*, proposed by Bartholomae, II 12, 136 sq.

² A few words from this dialect are quoted on the occasion of the *śat* dialect

possessed a Linguistic Atlas of India, of the Indo-Aryan area, or even of single provinces or languages!

We may add that Romani *phen* belongs to the marginal type. But we are scarcely entitled to draw any conclusions from this fact as to the original home of Romani. Even if it was somewhere in Central India, we know that the Gipsies passed through the North-West and stayed there for some time. It is also possible that they may have left their original home before the spread of *bahini*.

In Singhalese *bilini*, *bihini* is, according to Geiger, *Etymologie des Singhalesischen*, 997, used about the elder sister. But this word, which is not found in Clough's Dictionary, is probably a purely literary one. Wickeremasinghe¹⁵ gives *akha* 'elder sister' and *nangi*, *naga* 'younger sister'¹⁶, cf. Geiger *na(ñ)ga*. It is interesting to note that this latter word is derived by him from *naga(ñ)ā* 'naked', mentioned by Gonda at the end of his article.¹⁷

In several other languages the use of *bhagini* is restricted to the younger sister. Thus in Assamese, Nepali and some dialects of W. Pahari. Only in Garhwālī *bañi* or *diñi* is the elder sister, while the younger is called *bhulī*. The reservation of *bhagini* for the younger sister agrees well with the etymology proposed by Gonda and is not necessarily due to a secondary restriction of the meaning.¹⁸

THE WORDS FOR 'SISTER' IN DARDIC AND KAFIRI

Kalasha	Khovār Shina	Dumāki
<i>bāba</i>	<i>ispuśār sa(s)</i>	<i>bēin</i>
Prasun Kati	Phalūrā Bashkarik	
<i>syūs</i> , etc. <i>sus</i>	<i>bhēy</i>	<i>iṣṭō</i>
Ashkun Waigeli	Dameli Torwali Maiyā	Chilis
<i>sus</i>	<i>sos</i>	<i>ṣūr</i>
Pashai Shumashiti	Gawar-Bati	<i>biñō</i>
<i>sai</i> , etc. <i>pas</i>	<i>sasa</i>	<i>beñe</i>
	<i>sasa</i>	Gowro
	Tirahi	<i>bhai</i>
	<i>spas</i>	Lahndā
		<i>bhēy</i>

¹⁵ Sinhalese Self-taught, p. 31.

¹⁶ But *būñ* 'sister's son'.

¹⁷ Cf. also Waigeli *nangy*, Kati *nangō* 'small boy' < *nagānaga*.

¹⁸ Additional Note.—Also Wotapunt, a Dardic dialect spoken between Waigeli and the Kunar river, has the *bhagini* type (*bañi*). But Wot. in several other respects, too, agrees with the languages of the plains.

METATHESIS OF LIQUIDS IN DARDIC

A traveller awakened from his sleep by the traveller shouting his drawled, rhythmical *g(ə)rañ ēñē!* 'hot tea!' as he walks along the platform of an Indian railway-station, might perhaps, if he were a linguist, imagine that he had been transferred to the neighbourhood of some Slavonic "*grad*". But the similarity between this street-ery pronunciation of Hindostani *gar(ə) m* — borrowed from Persian *garu* 'hot' and the Slavonic metathesis of liquids is of course quite superficial.

A tendency, apparently parallel to that of the Slavonic languages, may, however, be traced back to a very ancient date in India. In Asoka's inscriptions in the Kharosthi alphabet and in the N. W. dialect from the 3rd century B. C. we find *kra(m)na* 'work' < Skt. *karma*; *dhra(m)na* 'law' < *dharma*; *para* 'first' < *pāra*, etc. Cf. *dhrañika* 'righteous' on Kharosthi coins from the following centuries, and *drigha* 'long' < *dirgha*, but also *dhra(m)na*, in the Kharosthi Dharmapada.

In view of the Asoka forms of the type *spaṛa* 'heaven'; *sara* 'all' < *sarva*, and especially *kāra* 'done' < *kāra*, which can scarcely represent the real pronunciation, Hultzsch¹ considers *kra(m)na*, etc., to be merely an orthographical device to express a spoken *kar(m)na*, and Bloch² leaves the question open. In support of this view it might be mentioned that the later Khar. inscriptions and the Khar. documents from Central Asia do not know this metathesis. They write,

¹ Inscriptions of Asoka, p. LXXXVII.

² L'Indo-Aryen, p. 85.

c.k., *dr̥gha*; *dh̥r̥gha*; *var̥na* (in late inscriptions also *var̥nana*, which points to an actual pronunciation *rn̥*, with *svarahakṛti*).

Epigraphically there is, however, a considerable difference between the transfer of an *r* to the preceding aksara, as in *kr̥ma*¹, and the slight change of place within the same aksara, as in *so-wa*. In the latter case the transposition is likely to be merely graphical, and, according to Bähler², *r* is "bald vor bald nach dem darüber stehenden Consonanten zu sprechen". The transfer to the preceding syllable is a much more serious matter, and it seems quite possible that *kr̥a(m)na* was really pronounced *kr̥mna*, while *sar̥va* was intended to represent a spoken *sar̥va*.

A parallel which might support the reading *kr̥mna* has been adduced from modern N. W. Indo-Aryan³. Here we find Sindhi *dr̥gho* 'long'; *kr̥mo* (Gujarati *kr̥mā*) 'cupped'; *lāma*. And in the Dardic languages the type *kr̥mna* is quite usual, while the existence of a type *sp̥agra* is rather doubtful⁴.

It may be worth while to examine the material available from the Dardic languages and to try to determine whether it can tell us anything about the nature and the chronology of this development.

1. — Metathesis of an anteconsonantic *r*⁵

r̥k: (1) *tarku* > Kal. *tr̥aku* 'spindle'; Shi. *ṛāko*; Si. *tr̥aku*; Lhd.

- ¹ Shabazgarhi, VI, 16 Hultzsch corrects Bähler's reading *sr̥and(aka)* into *saṃ*. But, as far as it is possible to judge from Hultzsch's plate, there is a fairly clear *r* stroke at the bottom of the *sa*, which has not the appearance of being accidental or of belonging to the stone.
- ² Ind. Palaeographic, p. 27. Cf., however, Boyer, Rapson and Senart, Khar. Inscriptions, p. 315.
- ³ V. c. g. Bloch, l. c.

⁴ Cf., however, Prasun *śūdra*, *śūtrā*, (6) below, and Khawar *ad̥raṣ* (> Kal. *ad̥raḥ*) 'hillside, forest', prob. borrowed from Ir. **ardax*, Sanglechi *āṣax* 'hill'; *woṣax* 'rib' (v. Indo-Ir. Frontier Language, II, pp. 380, 419).

⁵ 'Dardic' here includes the Kafir languages, which in this respect present no peculiarities of their own. The languages in question are: K(ashmiri); Shi(na); L(umak); M(aiyā); B(ashkari); T(owali);

tr̥akkā and, with secondary metathesis, *tarkā*.¹ Cf. Kal. *tr̥aku* 'shuttle'?

rg̥h: (2) *dr̥gha* > Ph. *dr̥g* 'ravine'.

(3) *dr̥gha* > Kal. *dr̥ga*, *dh̥r̥ga*; Kh. *dr̥ng*; Shi. *ṣṛga*; D. *j̥ga*; B. *h̥g*; M. *ṣṛga*; To. *j̥h*; Ti. *der̥ga*; Ph. *dh̥r̥ga*; L. *dr̥ga*; Clb. *Sho*. *h̥gā*; Pash. *leg̥l*, *h̥gālo*, *dr̥i*; K. *dr̥g̥t̥*; Pr. *j̥gn̥*; W. *dr̥gālo*, *dr̥gālo*; Si. *dr̥gho* (all); Lhd. *dh̥r̥gha*. — But Romani syr. *d̥r̥gā*.

(4) **m̥rga* > D. *m̥rg*; Clb. *bl̥g*; Pash. *log*; W. *K. m̥rg*; A. *m̥rg*; 'markhor'; Ph. *m̥rga-ḥol* 'markhor-kid'; Kal. *m̥r̥n̥*, *m̥rg* 'livex'. — But Kh. *m̥r̥oi* > *m̥rga*?

rg̥g: (5) *s̥r̥rga* > Pash. laur. *s̥r̥g* 'horn'. — Other dialects *s̥r̥g* > *s̥r̥rga*.

ry: (6) *bh̥r̥ga* > Ph. *br̥h̥g*; L. *br̥h̥g*; Clb. *bl̥z*; Shi. *j̥ṣ*, *j̥r̥*; B. *j̥j*; but Ksh. *br̥za* 'birch-bark'. — Pr. *ud̥ro* < **bh̥r̥ga* (cf. *n̥r̥a* 'bear' < **n̥r̥a* < **n̥r̥ā*)?

rp: (7) *tar̥p̥ate* > Ph. *utr̥p*; L. *tr̥p*; Gh. *lap* 'to run'; Si. *tr̥p* 'to leap'.

(8) *kar̥pās̥a* > Kal. *kr̥nas* 'cotton (plant)'. Thus, Turner. Nep. Bict., s.v. *kapās*. But prob., with late metathesis, from Kh. *kar̥as*, in its turn from Prs.

T(owali); K(howar); K(ashan); P(halag); M(ameli); G(lawar)B(an); Shu(nash); P(ashan) (with many dialects), and the Kafir languages (Kant; W(algeit); A(sikun); and P(erasum). Their relative geographical position may be roughly indicated in the following way:

Pr.	Kal.	Kh.	Shi.	D.
A.	K.	Ph.	B.	M.
W.	W.	Ph.	D.	T.
Pash.	Shu.	Gh.		Ksh.

Ti.

⁶ The resulting initial groups have subsequently been assimilated in manifold ways in the various dialects.

⁷ Ancient *r̥k* is assimilated in Lhd. — Cf. also *par̥ap* *tatsama*, for *par̥āp*, etc.

⁸ Cf. Turner, JKAS, 1924, p. 569.

rb: (9) *duvada* > Ph. *duvāda* 'weak'.

rm: (10) *karmam* > Kal. *kram*; Sh. *kivom*; D. *krom*; D., Ti. *kram*; Ph. *kram*; B., G.B. *Shu. kām*; Pash. *kām, kām, plām, som, kuyām* (ohl. *karmā*). Also Ti. *kām* prob., and Ksh. *kam* possibly < **kram*. — But Kh. *koram* (< **korn*), ohl. *kornu*.

(11) *marumam* > Ph. *maram*; D. *brām* 'wrist'.

(12) *dharmam* (?) > Kal. *drām*; Sh. *dyam* 'roof'.

(13) *dharmim* (?) > Pash. *areti drom* 'friend'.

(14) *kūrama* (-*ia*?), etc., > K., A. *kūram*; A. *kām*; Pash. *kām*; *īnād*, *śūd*, *plend*), *kundir* (ohl. *kuranda*) 'roof'.

rs: (15) *parām* > Kh., Sh. *praś*; Ph. *prās* (Sāvi *prastā*) 'th'. — But Kal. *paś*; B., A., Pash., Shu. *pāsā*; G.B. *paśā*; W. *paśā*; K. *paśā*, etc.; Ksh. *pāhara*. — Kh. *pāe* 'flank, breast' prob. < D. *pāe* < **pārām*.

rs: (16) *śūsam* > Kal., Sh. Ph., etc. *śīs* 'head'. Possibly < **śrīs*, but more probably < **śis*, with later dilation.

rs: (17) *bhartsama* > Pash. *ar. bhosan* 'oath, curse'.

(ph: (18) *gūphā* 'ankle' > D. *grōphā* 'wrist')

II. Metathesis of postconsonantic *r*:

kr: (19) *vīrīnāti* > Kal. *brīk*; D. *brīkin*; Pash. *rekur*, *higū* 'to sell'; K. *vīrīk* 'sale' (contaminated with Lhd. *vec-an*, H. *bec-na*?). — But G.B. (and Rom.) *bīkin*.

(20) *lakra* 'sour milk' > Kh. *trak* 'sour'. — But B., G.B. *lakat* 'rotten, old'; D. *traka* 'old (clothes)'; Kal. *trāka* 'weak' must be a different word.

(21) *rukra* > B. **ruk* > *ruk* 'sour' (?) — More prob. a loan-word (< To. *āka*?) with -*k*, not true B. *k*, < *kr*.

lr: (22) *dāra* > Pash. *drā*, *lā*; Ksh. *drak*; W. *Pahar*, *bhar*, *dā*, etc. — But Pr. *lāṭṭā* < *dār*; Lhd. *dār*, etc.

(23) *tantra* > Ph. *trān*; D. *trun*; Kal. *trān*; K. *trāt*, *trāt*, *trāt* 'weaving, loom'. — But Pr. *nāṭ* > *trāt*.

dk(r): (24) *daritra* > Ksh. *drōid* 'poor' (prob. *taksamal*).

: (25) *vīdhya* > D. *brā* 'clear sky'. — But Ph. *bīd*, Kal. *bīd*; Sh. *bīd*; Ksh. *vīd*; cf. Kh. *yūd*.

pr: (26) **svāpra* > Kal. *isprap*; G.B. *āp*; Shu. *āp*; Pash. *āp*; Pash. *ar. plām* 'sleep dream'. — But Sh. *sāp* 'dream'.

mr: (27) *tāma* > B. *kām* 'copper'; Sh. *trām* (with *tr*, not *ṭ*) < Ksh. *trām*; Si. *trāma*; W. *Pah. kumh. cāmbā*, etc.; D. *trāmba-lāguk* 'raspberry' ('troubleshooting').

(28) *amrā* (cf. *amru*, *amrā*) > K. *amrā* 'ant'; A. *brām*, *blām*; Pr. *amrā* (> **amrā*?) — Pash. *amrā*, etc. > **amrā*?

vr: (29) *pīra* (?) > Pash. *plām*, *ām* 'fat'.

sr: (30) *śrāṣṭā* (**śrāṣṭā*) > Kal. *isprās* 'mother-in-law'; Kh. *isprās*; Ph. *prās*; Sāvi *prās*; B. *śis*. To. *pāis* (< *pr*?) — But Pash. *śāṣṭā*, etc.; Sh. *śāṣ*; D. *śās*; Ksh. *śāṣ*, etc.; D. *isprās*, A. *śipās*, and probably K. *ēṣ* < **ēṣ*, with assimilation to a following cerebral as in several other cases.

sr: *tanura* > Kal. *trōn*; W. *trām* 'darkness'; K. *trōn* 'evening'.

Metathesis may also have taken place in some of the Dardic words of unknown etymology which have an initial *r*-group. Thus, e. g. Ph. *drakhal* 'marble'; *drakā*, 'to pull'; *bīdragā* (B. *bīg*) 'illness' < **bi-drāgā-ka*; D. *grānā* 'to stir soup'; Kal. *urak* 'to tear' (Sh. *trak* 'tearing'); *drup* 'to eat something hot'; Ksh. *pror* 'white' (poss. < **bandra*, cf. Skt. *pāndu*?); *trakor* 'hard, rough' (< **brakar* < *karāra*?)

It is possible that there is some connection between the anticipation of *r* in the types *urka*, *akra* and the usual development of *r* > *r*, *ru* in Dardic, e. g. in Kal. *krizna* 'black'; Kh. *trusna* 'thirsty'. But this question would need a separate, detailed discussion. In some cases the derivation from *r* may be doubtful; cf. Pash. *yakāt* 'kidney' (< **vrak*), with D. *brakāt*; Ph., Kal., Kh. *brak*, etc. < **vrak*.

The transposition seems to be fairly regular in words of type I (*urka*) with initial stop, *m* and *ś* (i. e., sounds which could combine with *r* in Sanskrit). It is only to be expected that *nirāda*-should result in **nirāda*- (G.B. *nirāda*; D. *nirād* 'clear sky') and not in

¹ V. Turner, The Position of Romani, pp. 7, 9. — Note *myra* > **mirā* in Pash. *bīk* 'dead', Kh. *bīk*, but > **myra* in Ph. *myra*; B. *myr*; A. *myr*, etc.

**urimāla*, and no trace is found of any form **gumma* < **crumma* < *carnan*- (B., W. *ān*, etc. 'skin'). Therefore B. *ēnk* 'sour' cannot be derived from **crukh*¹, and in D., Ph. *phad* 'to vomit' the initial cerebral has been influenced by the final one and the root does not go back to **chard*. Also an initial *sr*- has been avoided in the words denoting 'all': B. *sā*, Y. *sāw*; K. *sī*; A. *sete*, *sawak*; W. *sab* (and *sarap*, *saparak*, etc.) < *saraw*. Even in the Asoka inscriptions the isolated *reaching srana-* is contended by Hultzsch.

We might have expected to find some forms derived from **urakala* < *maraka*- but all recorded Dardic words for 'monkey' go back to **makala*- (*-ala*, *-ala*). Thus. D. *māka*²; Ph. *mākar*; K. *mākā*³; Pash. *kup. mākā*. Kh. *mākā*; W. **māka*; Kal. *māka* (dem. *māka* 'small') < **mākā*. It is of course possible that these words are later borrowings, just as Pash. *kakara* 'water melon'; W. *kupkārā* 'gourd' < *karkā*. Pash. *phālgān* 'h. of a month' is evidently a tatsama. Kh. *korum* (*korno*) 'work'; *gahin* 'pregnant'; *gurdax* 'ass' (short. into Kal. *gardokh*) seem to indicate that Kh. did not transpose the *r* of *tarka*. The only example of this transposition in Kh. is *praś* 'rib' which may, perhaps, originally belong to some other dialect. It would not in itself be surprising if Kh., which presents so many archaic features, should prove to stand apart in this respect, too.

The assimilation of *r* with a following dental into a cerebral which is common to all Dardic languages with the exception of Kh. and Kal., antedates, and consequently prevents the metathesis. Thus, G.B., W. *wat*; Ph. *bat*, etc. 'stone'; Kh. *hor*, Kal. *bat*; Ph. D. *baḍ*⁴; Pash. *waḍ* 'to grow'; Kh. *bor*; Kal. *bāḍ*; B., Y. *koy*; Ph. *kāy*, etc. Kal. *kāḍ* 'ear'.⁵ Also *rā* was assimilated before the transposition took place; e. g., in Ph. *bās*; K., W. *was*, etc.; Kh. *boṣā* 'rain'.⁶

¹ V. above (21).

² There is no certain example of *ru* in Kh. *kār* 'ear' = W., cf. D. *kār*. K. *kār*, is probably a different word. *Sorun* (*son-r*) 'gold' has got its *m* from *dra* (*drun* 'silver' before the assimilation of *ru*, but after the borrowing of this Greek word through some Ir. dialect.

In Type II (*takra*) also, the transposition is avoided when it would lead to the formation of awkward initial groups. Thus, Kal. *ākri* 'spleen'; *ākra*, etc. (passim) 'sour'; A. *āar* 'spinning wheel'; Kal. *āandr* 'to shine'; B. *āan*, D. *āang* 'moon'; Ph. *yāadr* 'water-mill' (and corresponding forms in most languages) - *yandra*, but *trānd* < *tautra*; Ph. *mūdra*, etc. 'sleep' < *mūtrā*.

But in this group there is, as will appear from the list given above, much less regularity in the transposition of *r*. And in a number of words where it might have been phonetically possible, we nevertheless find the old sequence of consonants retained everywhere. Thus, e.g., K. *gor*, A. *gar* 'arm' < *gātra*; Kal. *badr* 'leather belt' < *padrādr*; Shi. *pācu* 'cloth' < *patra*, and in various dialects forms corresponding to Ph. *putr* 'son'; *sār* 'upward'; *mār* 'urine'; Kh. *iṣṭrē*, etc., 'mother-in-law' (30) need not necessarily have passed through a stage **śrāstr*-*ryā*. More probably the transposition did not take place till after the already N.W. Asokan change of *śu*, > *sp*, *śp*.

In some cases the transposition is evidently quite recent. Thus Kal. has *trandrast* 'wealth' from the Pts. loan-word *trandrast* and *krauns* (3) from Kh. *karyas*. Also *māka* 'monkey' < **mākā* must be late, and corresponding to N. Kal. *kraḍ* 'to laugh' the Utsun dialect has *kātr*. *phē* 'palm of the hand'; *phā* 'leaf', and *kryā* 'ear' probably go back to not very remote forms **phē* < **phē*, etc. Similarly K. *wāḍ*, *waḍ*, W. *wāḍ* 'to see' < A. *wāḍ*; W. *phē* 'palm of the hand'; *kāḍ*, *kāy* 'arrow', etc. Cf. D. *briḍun*, *bāḍun* 'pellet-bow' < **bāḍ*, **bāḍun*, and Kal. *dāḍa* 'to load', prob. from Ir. *dāṛa* (Parachi *dēṛa*, etc.). It seems also probable that the NW Dardic word for meadow,

³ Reg. *sīs* 'head' v. above (16). - A surprising form is Western K. *paṛs* (Eastern K. *paṣ*) 'hillside, rock' if < **pāśiya*, cf. Skt. *pāṣya*, *pāśhya*.

⁴ But Shi. *ānku*.

⁵ Kal. *zōntr*, but also *māntr* 'to speak'.

⁶ The connection with K. *brāji* id. is uncertain.

⁷ Bloch, l. c., puts Kal. "pro" on a line with *kruu* 'work'.

Kal. *brhant(s)*-, *brāntz*; Kh. *bronz*; Ph. *brāntzu*; 1), *brās*; K. *brānt*, *brāz*; Pr. *manz* < *manz* is derived, with the quite common repetition of an initial nasal, from Ir. *marz*.

To sum up: Both I and II preceded the change of initial groups with *r* to *l*, *ḷ*, *ḡ*, *s*, *j*, etc. in many Dardic languages. But we know nothing about the date of this change, which may be fairly recent. We have only modern records of these languages, but the place-names *Shahgrām* and *Chadgrām* in Torval seem to show that To, had not yet lost the *r* at the time of the Pathan invasion in the 16th century, and many names in *grām* are also found in Jir, etc. The Pasho form *Bīdīr* = B. *jīdīr*, a village in Kaskar, points to a pronunciation **Bīdīr* prevailing at any rate up to that period.

Type I may be referred to a date between the assimilation of *r* + dental and that of *r* + *m*, etc.:

- 1) *karna* > *kanna*.
- 2) *karnan* > *kranma*.
- 3) *carman* > *cauma*.

It seems probable that this Dardic transposition is historically connected with that which appears in the Asokan inscriptions.

Type II is not known from Asoka, but this may be an accident, for it occurs frequently in N.W. I.A. It is later than the Asokan change of *śv* > *śh*, and probably also than that of *mr* > *mbr*. But it is more sporadic than Type I, and the tendency seems to be at work up to the present day. The chronological problem is complicated by the fact that some of the words in question have possibly been borrowed from some other dialect. We are able to prove this only in the case of Shi. *trām* 'copper', where the genuine Shi. form should have been *ṭām*.

¹ *rg* has possibly been retained in 1), *orgaḥḥ*; (iB. *h'orgaḥ*, B. *argid* etc.; chin, jaw, if < *argada* 'bolt, bar'.

² The loss of *g* in Pash. *arei dīr* may be due to a separate development within the dialect. — Reg. Kal. *krans* v. (8).

³ JKAS, 1924, p. 369.

⁴ I. Indo-Aryen, p. 85.

It is possible to add some remarks about the mechanism of the transposition. It is generally recognized that *drgha* has not become **drgha*, which would have given e.g. Kal. **dr̥ha*, *dr̥ia*, not *dr̥iga*.² But, according to the Prāśākyas and other sources, consonants were doubled after *r*, and it seems quite possible that *drgha*, *karnman* might result directly in **dr̥gha*, **kranma*, and *manra* in **manra*.³ Turner⁴ and Bloch⁵ prefer, however, to assume that there was first an anticipation of *r* into **dr̥gha*, **kr̥ma*, "since the original group containing *r* behaved like any other group containing *r*", i.e., was assimilated. In proof of this Bloch adduces K. *br̥ar* (23).⁶ Another example is Shi. *jāḥ* 'ringworm', which Turner⁷ derives through **jāḥ* < *dadr̥a*. K. *r̥ḡ* 'mother-in-law' (30) has scarcely passed through a stage **ḡr̥br̥ar*, but is assimilated from **r̥ḡ* < **ḡr̥ar*, and Kh. *pr̥aḥ*, 19. *pr̥aḥ* 'rill', with palatal ḡ, point rather to **pr̥aḥ* than to **pr̥ar̥ḥ*. If Bloch and Turner are right, the second *r* must have been lost through dissimilation with the first one, as in Kal. etc., *r̥ḡ* 'right' < **raḡr̥i*: K. *r̥ḡr̥*; A. *ṣar*, etc.

If we try to decline the special conditions which may have caused or favoured the metathesis of *r*, we may at once discard the possibility of any tendency having been at work to secure open syllables, as was the case in the various changes of Slavonic **gor-ā*, **Kr̥atmāna*; **tr̥andṛa* would still have had closed syllables.

If we assume a development **karn-man* < **kran-ma* in Type I, there would, however, have been a simplification of a final syllabic group, which was liable to be assimilated, as subsequently in *carman* > *cauma*.⁸ And in Pash. of Gollabhar *k'grām* < **kran* (but obl. *karnal*) it may be that the transposition did not take place till after the loss of the final vowel in the nom., **karnan* becoming **kranm*.

² Turner, l. c.

³ But also *tr̥it*.

⁴ Nep. Dict., s. v. *dād*.

⁵ Savi *pr̥aḥ* was given by a speaker of GiB. whose own form was *pr̥aḥ*.

⁶ Cf. Notes on Phalufa, p. 15: "the preventive anticipation of a threatened anticonsonantic *r*".

(> **kānu*), but obl. **karnā* > *karnu*. Cf. Pashto *trū*, f. *tarua* 'sour'; Skt. *hord-* 'puugent'.

A theoretically plausible idea would be to assume some kind of connection between metathesis and accent. But our complete lack of any knowledge of the stress-system prevailing in the Parthic languages at an earlier stage prevents us from following up such speculations.

In Type II no difficult groups were relieved, *dā-tra*, *tan-tra* giving perfectly possible sequences, cf. Ph. *yāndr*, etc., * *yān-tra*. The L.A. metathesis cannot therefore be compared with that described by Grammont¹ from Bagnères-de-Luchon, where a difficult group is relieved by a metathesis *capra* > *criba*, while *ri* remains in *pari* < *parre*.

But the initial generally stands in a stronger position than the rest of the word, and it seems reasonable to assume that this fact has had something to do with the lasting and constantly recurrent tendency in Parthic to transfer *r* to an initial group. We may, perhaps, compare the tendency to anticipate the aspiration in many L.A. languages, e.g., in Käl. *dhryga*.

Similar transpositions of liquids, are of course, a phenomenon well-known to many languages. Thus we find in Ir., corresponding to (22), Yagnobi *dirsh* 'sickie' > *drabā*; Munji-Yidgha *Prē-gus-Prā-gus* < *drāta* (?), and, according to Benveniste² perhaps Sogd. *dy's* < **drābāra*.

Finally it may be pointed out that in Ksh. an *r* is sometimes inserted after the initial consonant.³ Thus, *šac* 'purity'; *šrōcim* 'to become pure'. This may possibly be due to an analogical influence from the vacillation in cases where the *r* is ancient, as in *drōyih* 'before' < **drāoyihā* < *diara-koshā*. A different kind of 'insertion' of *r* has been discussed in my article 'Notes on certain features i WV. Pahlāvi', e.g., in *akhr* 'eye'; *drinckāna* 'hungry' (< **drinckhr-*). I am still inclined to believe that in these cases *ksh* has developed from *ks*, or, perhaps, from *ch*, with segmentation. Cf. also Käl. *drīgāti*, B. *hachm* 'right (hand)' < **draks-*.

¹ *Traité de phonétique*, pp. 339, sqq.

² JA, 1933, p. 219. Cf. also Hamari Lanti, La métathèse de l'*r* dans les idiomes romans, Helsinki, 1935.

³ Grieson, The modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, § 286.

⁴ AO, VI, pp. 305, sqq.

IRANIAN ELEMENTS IN KHOWAR

KHOWAR, the predominant language of Chitral and of the adjacent parts of the Gilgit district, is characterized on the one hand by a tenacious preservation of ancient I.A. sounds, forms, and words, and on the other hand by the existence of a remarkably large number of foreign elements. According to Sir George Grierson, Khowar "in some essential particulars agrees rather with the Glutcha languages to the north".¹ And, drawing attention to the fact that the Chitral valley² was formerly inhabited by Kalashas, he expresses the opinion that the originally homogeneous Parthic population of Kafiristan, Chitral, and Gilgit "was subsequently split into two by a wedge of Khoti invasion, representing members of a different, but related, tribe coming from the north [of the Hindukush]". In whatever way one may be inclined to interpret the position there can be no doubt that Khoti, when compared with the neighbouring Parthic dialects, presents many peculiarities which deserve our attention.

Among the words included in the list given by Sir George³ in order to exemplify the difference between Khoti and other Dardic and Kafir languages some may be of I.A. origin. But it is none the less remarkable that Khoti should differ so widely from its neighbours, even as regards a number of the most common words, e.g. such as denote parts of the body. Thus, corresponding in most cases to words of I.A. origin in Shina and Kalasha, Khoti has *yē* 'eye', *āpog* 'mouth', *kīgini* 'tongue', *rygis* 'beard', *tē'mof* 'finger', *dō'yār* 'nail', *kram*, *arqa* 'back', *as'gar* 'lung', *ghal* 'bone', *is'ki* (*q?*) 'heel', *is'qi* 'jaw', *blig* 'poplite', *zān* 'knee', *bāz* 'arm'. Some of these words come from Ir., others are of unknown origin.⁴

The Ir. loanwords in Khoti, which form the subject of this article are very numerous. They may roughly be divided into the following groups, which, as will be seen, cannot always be clearly distinguished:

- I. Loanwords from (Modern) Pers.
- II. Loanwords from some Middle Ir. language.
- III. Loanwords from the Pahlavi dialects.
- IV. Loanwords from some unidentifiable or unknown Ir. source.

¹ ASI, VIII, 2, p. 133.

² Or, at any rate, Lower Chitral.

³ *Loc. cit.*

⁴ Cf. also, for instance, *rān* 'wine', *vēni* 'dog', *is'kin* 'milk', etc.